

CAMPAIN 1804

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The 1864 Election

Campaign

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the
Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

A NEW PROGRAMME IN REGARD TO THE REBELLION—
LINCOLN BIDDING FOR SUPPORT AND RENOMINATION.

The public was informed a week or ten days ago that President Lincoln contemplated writing a letter to a convention of his friends, who were to assemble at Springfield, Illinois, and it immediately after became apparent that the President himself, and those in his intimate counsel, looked with great fondness upon the forthcoming bantling from his pen.

Outgivings in regard to its importance induced a request from the President's friends in New York for a copy to be read at their "Young Men's" mass meeting held to-day at Syracuse, following their State convention; and we opine that Mr. Greeley, of the *Tribune*, was even previously made acquainted with its contents. In his issue of Monday he spoke of "significant foreshadowings" and added—

"We believe that letter will go far to reassure the South that the President is anxious for an immediate arrest of hostilities, on terms that will humiliate and degrade no section or class, but be honorable and just to all. Believing him just and humane, as well as patriotic and courageous, we sanguinely expect to follow his lead."

Here something notably new and important to the country, or at least to the administration party, was clearly foreshadowed; and a dispatch from the city of Mr. Lincoln's residence, to which the original letter was addressed, confidently predicted that the letter would "vindicate the President's fame and character, and be the keynote of the next Presidential campaign."

So we are evidently to regard the letter as Mr. Lincoln's platform for a re-nomination to the Presidency. We regret that we cannot lay it before our readers this week.

1863

DAN RICE ON THE UNION.

On Tuesday night, of last week, Mr. Dan Rice, at the request of a number of our most prominent and influential citizens, made a strong Union speech to those who attended the "Great Show." The "house," as the professionals style it, was crowded, and we hope that but few of the seeds of truth, so liberally sowed by the intelligent speaker, fell upon "stony ground." In order to give as wide a publicity as possible, to the sentiments uttered by him, we publish the subjoined synopsis of his address which, by the way, he delivered *extempore*. Mr. Rice is an independent man, untrammelled by political associations, a firm advocate of the free expression of thought, by education an Old Line Whig, was a great admirer of Mr. Douglas, whilst that distinguished Senator and statesman was living, and now supports those who adopt and carry out the principles of Government he promulgated.—He has no personal political ambition, therefore he speaks "right out" and says what he believes the people ought to hear, and be made acquainted with. The following is a correct report of the speech:

MY KIND FRIENDS:—In pursuance to the expressed desires of many of you I will devote a little from the course that has marked my professional career, and make a few remarks that may have a direct bearing upon your local elections. In so doing, however, permit me to say that I am actuated by no personal feelings, but inspired both by the wish and thought that the evincement of your Union sentiments, in common with those of all good, loyal men in this, our own Keystone State, may reach the South and tell those there who wish to see this country—its Constitution and its laws sustained—that we of the North, as a people, are not fighting to free the black man, neither are we buckling on the armor of an irrepressible conflict—our mission is not to legislate for localities, nor to use the strong arm of Congress to deprive any class of people in any section of the country of their rights, either judicial or personal.

Let me tell you, my friends, that the man who utters abolition sentiments now is as dangerous an enemy as the most hot headed secessionist. If all the people of the North knew as much of the South as I and many of my leading employees do, they would at once see the absolute necessity of crushing out such incendiaries. Why, permit me to say to, and assure you, that the direful words of those negro sympathizers, feed that monster secession, and that he fattens upon the wild ravings of political fanatics. Had we no hollow hearted philanthropists like Wendell Phillips, Gerrit Smith, Joshua R. Giddings and others of smaller calibre who are supported by a corrupt press, such as the *New York Tribune*, &c. &c., why the Secessionists would have no tool to work with. But Jeff. Davis sends to his friends of the *Richmond Enquirer* and the

New Orleans Crescent, some choice extracts from the Abolition press of the North, and they are re-published throughout the country as the sentiments of the whole Northern people. The hot, impulsive blood of the Southern man is aroused, his leaders tell him his home is to be invaded by a host of John Browns who intend to set his slaves free and arm them against him. And thus it is the ambitious Southern demagogue, who wishes to establish an autocratic Government, takes the abolition sentiments as vehicles to carry out his nefarious designs. What I tell you is true.

The time will come, it is upon us now, when here in the North, it will be dangerous for an abolitionist to open his mouth. You have bad men here, one of whom has the temerity to come out, and claim the support of loyal men, after he has uttered remarks most demoniacal in their nature; yes, and he has uttered them too, when he was aware that good men—true, loyal sons—were battling for the Union down South. How can such honest-hearted men as Johnson, Etheridge and Brownlow hope to succeed to break down the prejudice that is entertained against us now, when such men as Lowry are yelling universal emancipation in their ears? (And Mr. Gilmer) of North Carolina, win proselytes to our cause, and induce the people to return to their allegiance, when such platforms as Mr. Lowry and his friends now stand upon, are erected right in the sight of those who already believe, and are constantly reminded, that we are their enemies, not their brethren and friends?

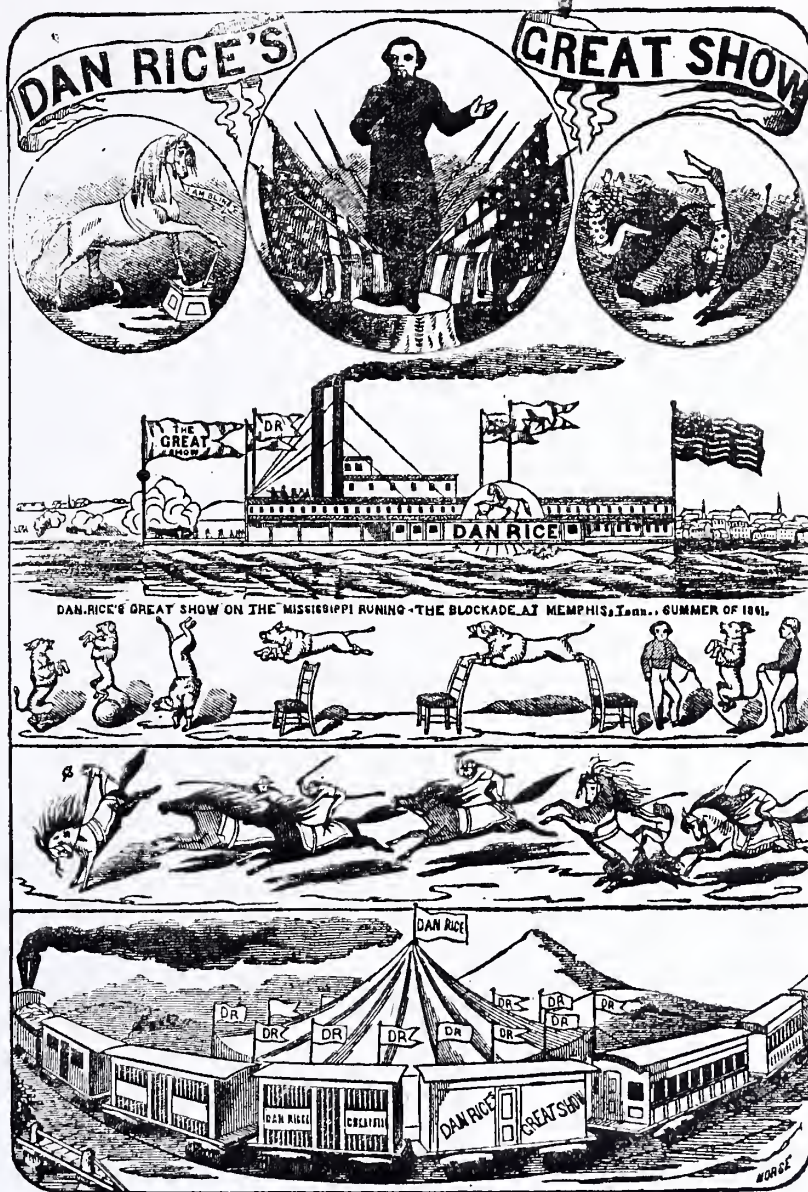
Understand me, I am no sympathizer with the Secessionists, I have no affiliation with them, I am an admirer of Mr. Lincoln now, although I did not vote for him, but I am satisfied that he is an honest man who knows his duty and means to carry out its principles to the very letter. He will sustain the integrity of our Nation, and make us respected both at home and abroad. He is, in truth, honest old Abe, and we, to a single individual, owe it to him, ourselves and our posterity, to sustain him. We must support the Administration that has for its aim the support of our noble national fabric. The negro question must be lost sight of, and the Republican party who I believe are endeavoring to purgo our political channels, must cast away as a foul thing the abolition faction that is attempting to gain sustenance and power by clinging to its skirts. I can see the schemes of those who want to shape things for their own aggrandizement.—It may do for the *Chicago Tribune* and its supporters, to cry aloud for the people to uphold Gen. Fremont, but I cry no. If he attempts to overstep his duty as a General of the Federal forces, and thus disgusts the Union men of the South, why, I say let him be displaced and another man put in his stead. Where would the states of Missouri, Kentucky and Maryland, and the portions of Eastern Tennessee and Western Virginia be now, if Old Abe had not have issued that powerful little reproof to

the proclamation of the pathfinder? Why they would have already been swallowed up by the maelstrom of secessionism. Thank God, kind friends, we have got at the head of this Government a man who appreciates the solemn obligations of that oath he has registered in Heaven, and all that it behoves us, is to aid and succor him. Let us have no sectional candidates, no political hacks, let us have our little streams purified and our noble river will glide on glittering and glorious. On Tuesday next let our ballots fall for the men who are known for their fealty to the Union, and the gallant army now awaiting an opportunity to avenge the insult to our Flag will be strengthened and encouraged upon learning that we, as voters, are with them heart and soul. Thus we can bury secession after they have killed the monster, and we can drive back to oblivion the traitors we have. Let us attach importance to every point no matter how insignificant it may be, and we shall rise from a mass of fratricides to our original state, as God intended us to be—a free, noble and independent people, with our glorious emblem, the stars and stripes, flowing from the snow-bound borders of the Kennebeck, to the golden sands of the Pacific. The bad men, those would-be destroyers of the Union, both North and South, will become things that were, and the American citizen can, in all sections and all climes, pursue the tenor of his way with none to make him afraid. God grant that the reign of terror may soon pass over, and that the sunshine of fraternal love again brighten up the whole face of our beloved country.

Em. J. O'Brien Decr 186-

AT ERIE, MONDAY, APRIL 25th, 1864,

On the Lot on State St., near the Buffalo & Erie Railroad Depot,



ENLARGED, IMPROVED AND TRANSFORMED INTO

Erie Va. Oct. 5. 1864

First.—That the delegations from the States of Maine, New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, Rhode Island, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Oregon, California, Kansas and West Virginia are all regular, and are admitted to seats with the rights and privileges of members.

Mr. A. F. Dow was the next speaker. He was not disappointed as to the result of the previous speaker, at the nomination of Mr. Lincoln. He was gratified. The Chicago Convention had, in his opinion, made the wisest nomination that could have been made under the circumstances. The Republicans of every State that had sent its delegates to that Convention would come out on the next election day in their full strength to rally such nominations. He was proud to say that Wm. H. Seward was the man of his choice, as he was of hosts of other Republicans; but, with equal prudence, he believed it his duty to say that he did not believe that Mr. Seward had at the present time sufficient strength to carry the Republican Party to victory. It was an old proverb that one man shook the bush and another gathered the birds. It was true that William H. Seward had shaken the bush. He had

It well. He had shaken it satisfactorily, but ABRAHAM LINCOLN had got the bird. Whatever their feelings as to a particular candidate might be—whatever their prejudices—be deemed it the duty of every true Republican to down those feelings and wage those prejudices in harmonious action for the success of the candidate of freedom. A better day was coming. The march of freedom was onward. Right principles were now getting the upper hand—principles of freedom and humanity against oppression and slavery.

Following the conclusion of Mr. Davis' speech, the President asked if any brother present had a heart overflowing and desired to speak. Any such one he asked to rise in his place and let himself be heard.

Mr. A. N. COZIX said he was not overdoing with anxiety to speak, but he had a bit of news to tell them as to how the nominations at Chicago were received in the upper part of the City. He was a member of the Twenty-first Ward Republican Association, and he had just come from a meeting of the Association. The meeting was one of intense enthusiasm for Mr. Lincoln. Their preference had been for Mr. Seward; but as Mr. Lincoln had been nominated, they had accepted him as their man, and they should fight for him to the best of their united ability. [Applause.]

Mr. A. F. Dow stated that the Republican Association of the Ninth Ward was in favor of the nomination of Mr. Seward or any other candidate, but they should drop Mr. Seward for the present and come up to the battle for Mr. Lincoln. They might depend upon it that at the next election the Ninth Ward would come up right side up with care—their care being to do their best toward the election of the Chicago nominee.

Mr. DITTENHOFF, in an animated speech, gave the views of the German Republicans of the City touching the nomination of Mr. Lincoln. He knew the Republicans among the Germans would accept the nomination and give it their full support, and he prophesied their entire vote for Mr. Lincoln.

Mr. E. WAGNER stated that GORRINGS was his first choice for the Presidency. Mr. WANE his next choice. Mr. SEWARD his next, and Mr. LINCOLN the last on the list. Notwithstanding the name of Mr. LINCOLN was the last man on his slate, he should now be the first in receiving his support. [Applause.]

Mr. ULTMANN said a great battle had got to be fought and he hoped they would all be fully armed to meet the enemy.

With three times three cheers for ABRAHAM LINCOLN and HANNIBAL HAMLIN, the meeting adjourned till Monday evening.

THE FEELING IN THE SEVERAL WARDS.

Late in the evening there were gatherings at the Republican Head Quarters, in several Wards, for the purpose of talking over the Chicago nominations. Excepting where the gatherings were regularly organized, the conversation was carried on in a very moderate tone of voice. All expressed their astonishment and sore disappointment because of the failure of WILLIAM H. SEWARD to receive the nomination. With him they were confident they could have carried the State of New York, and, with that, the Union. However, ABRAHAM LINCOLN was a good Republican, and a strong man. So was HANNIBAL HAMLIN, and with them they would go into the fight, and win if they could. The largest Ward meeting was held in the Ninth Ward, where speeches were made by Mr. Dow and others, all expressing disappointment because Mr. SEWARD had not been nominated; but concluding, after, as Mr. Dow expressed it, looking all through the matter and all around the matter, that the nomination of Mr. LINCOLN was a good one, and that if the people would enter warmly into the contest, in his name he would certainly be elected. A resolution, ratifying the nomination of Mr. LINCOLN, was passed, and the meeting adjourned. Soon after the adjournment the news of the nomination of HANNIBAL HAMLIN for the Vice Presidency, was received, and those who remained, said they would have ratified that too, if they had known it in time.

There was a regularly organized meeting in the Twenty-first Ward, at which Mr. A. N. COZIX, and others made speeches. They were the same in substance as those delivered elsewhere in the City. They all expressed disappointment and regret because of the failure of Mr. SEWARD to receive the nomination, but considered the nomination of Mr. LINCOLN a good one, and determined to support it. A resolution, ratifying the nomination was passed unanimously, and the meeting adjourned. There, as in the Ninth Ward, the nomination of HANNIBAL HAMLIN was not known until after the adjournment, but they all promised it a hearty support.

In the other upper Wards there were no demonstration of joy. Nearly all the Republicans expressed disappointment and regret freely, though but few of them expressed a determination not to support the ticket. In the lower Wards there was nothing done by way of joyous demonstration except in the City Hall Park, during the afternoon, where one hundred guns were fired, in the presence of several hundred persons.

In Wall-street, when the news of the nomination of Mr. LINCOLN was made known, the Republicans there either declined to talk at all on the subject, or expressed dissatisfaction with the result, nor did they, when the time came for leaving the street, appear to have changed their minds, or to have improved in spirits.

THE NOMINATIONS ELSEWHERE.

NEW-YORK.

ALBANY, Friday, May 18.

One hundred guns are now being fired by some of the enthusiastic Republicans of this city, in honor of the nomination of LINCOLN for President. The greatest excitement prevails in the city. The streets are alive with politicians, and groups are gathered on State-street and Broadway discussing the subject of the nomination. The announcement of the nomination was entirely unexpected by the Republicans of this city. They were confident that Wm. H. SEWARD was to be the man, and when it was announced that LINCOLN was the nominee a feeling of disappointment was manifest. At first the intelligence was not credited, but these doubts were of short duration. This feeling still exists, but they say that they will abide by the decision of the Convention, and give LINCOLN a hearty and cordial support.

ALBANY, Friday, May 18—9 P. M.

The Republicans of this city are now fairly waked up, and the wildest excitement prevails in regard to the nomination of LINCOLN. State-street is a perfect sea of fire from burning tar-barrels. The whole heavens are illuminated with a red glare, while cannon is firing, music is playing, and the people shouting on State-street and Broadway. Both streets are literally jammed with men of all parties, who are earnestly discussing the action of the Convention.

The Republicans of the City are now more reconciled to the nomination, and unite in hearty approval of it. They consider that while LINCOLN may not be as strong in the State as SEWARD, he will be less objectionable throughout the Union.

Since the reception of the news of the successful laying of the Atlantic cable, no more animated scene has ever been witnessed in this city than has been seen this evening. The firing of guns and the illumination of the principal thoroughfares have called out thousands of people, and the excitement is at the highest pitch.

ALBANY, Friday, May 18—11 P. M.

The Republicans here seem determined to keep up the excitement. They have just had a great pyrotechnic display on State-street. It is the intention of the Republicans here to extend a formal reception to the New-York delegation on their return from the Convention. A dispatch has been forwarded to them to this effect.

BUFFALO, Friday, May 18.

A salute was fired here, this afternoon, upon the receipt of the news of the nomination of LINCOLN and HAMLIN. No other evidences of mad enthusiasm, however, were manifested.

ROCHESTER, Friday, May 18.

A salute of 100 guns was fired this afternoon by the Republicans, in honor of the nomination of ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO, Friday, May 18.

The nomination of Mr. LINCOLN for President by the Republican National Convention has been received by Illinois and the Northwest with an enthusiasm unparalleled since the days of 1810. The excitement which was centered in the Wigwam in the last three days was scattered throughout the city this evening. The "Wide Awake" are marching in a procession numbering over 2,000 torch-lights, with banners, transparencies, &c.

The German Republicans formed also a large procession. The city is wild with excitement. All appear to have laid aside their gravity, and become boys again. Bonfire blaze at the corners of the streets. Meetings are being held in front of the Tremont and Metropolitan Hotels. A large and enthusiastic meeting is also being held in the Wigwam. Speeches were made by Mr. J. R. GIBBONS and other prominent men, delegates of the Convention.

The Press and Tribune establishment, whose publication of the debates of the Douglas and Lincoln Senatorial Campaign of 1858 gave the latter much of his national reputation, is splendidly illuminated in honor of the success of their favorite candidate, with a large transparency at their front.

"For President—Honest Old Abe."

"For Vice-President—Hannibal Hamlin."

A large number of other buildings in the City were also brilliantly illuminated.

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Friday, May 18.

At noon to-day Mr. LINCOLN received the ap-

plauds of the crowd against our cavalry, it must be either a very profitable or pleasant means of communication, without taking into consideration the loss of time involved.

Arrangements have been made for burying the dead upon the field of last Thursday's battle. The fact that the enemy did not do this, and also that they did not carry off their wounded, is palpable evidence that, although they drove back our Second Corps, they did not achieve a complete or irretrievable victory.

To-day nothing of interest has occurred. Cannon-firing and picket-firing is rather more brisk and continuous than yesterday, but without result.

THE SITUATION.

The Surrender of Fort Morgan.

DETAILS OF THE CAPITULATION

Five Hundred and Eighty-one Prisoners Captured.

THE GUNS SPIKED BY THE REBELS.

WAR THUNDER FOR COPPERHEADS

[OFFICIAL.]

WASHINGTON, Wednesday, Aug. 31.

Major-Gen. Dyer, New-York:

This Department has received from Gen. GRANT a full account of the surrender of Fort Morgan. News from the Richmond papers:

CHICAGO, Aug. 30.

The following is from the Richmond Inquirer of this morning:

MOBILE, Aug. 28, 1864.

The flag of truce was hoisted last evening. The fort was surrendered at 2 o'clock on Tuesday. On Monday afternoon they concentrated their fire on the fort, when the bombardment was renewed spiritedly.

In the meanwhile the enemy succeeded in getting their howitzers into position and the line of skirmishing along the glacis of the fort, and opened a heavy fire on our guns and gunners, and with the assistance of the mortar fleet succeeded in damaging several gun carriages. The fort did not fire Tuesday. Gen. PATON destroyed everything in the fort, and spiked his guns. He and the garrison, numbering 801 men, were sent to New-Orleans. Seventeen were killed; the number wounded is unknown. None of the non-combatants were allowed to visit the city. The enemy have a strong force of 4,000 on the mainland at Grant's bay.

SECOND DISPATCH.

MOBILE, Sunday, Aug. 29.

There is no change of affairs at this point. All is quiet. U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

Unofficial reports represent Foster, Wessles and Sherman as having joined their forces and operating against Gen. SHERMAN's communications between Chattanooga and Nashville, but no report has been received from Gen. SHERMAN.

Gen. SHERMAN is still, with his force, at Charleston.

No operations have taken place, since my last telegram, in front of Petersburg.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

For Losses in the Recent Battles—How the Rebels are Said to be Getting Around the Break in the Weldon Road.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, }
Monday, Aug. 29—Evening.

The reports from some of the newspapers that the loss in the Fifth Corps, in the battles of the 18th, 19th and 21st Inst. reach 5,000, greatly exaggerate the loss. It is now definitely known that they do not exceed 3,000; and as stragglers and others continue to come in, and the sick are all accounted for, it is believed that the aggregate loss will not exceed 3,500.

The loss of the Second Corps in Thursday's fight will not exceed 1,500, according to the official statement, and it is hoped and believed that when all within our lines report, the entire loss will fall to 1,800.

The rebels are said to be using the Weldon Railroad below Reams's Station, and running their supplies thence to Petersburg around our left by Passapatan. As this requires a large force to guard the

Abraham Lincoln's Nomination a Wet Blanket to the Radicals.

The nomination of Abraham Lincoln for a second term of four years in the Presidency has fallen like a wet blanket upon the leaders of the radical abolition elements of the republican party. To reconcile them to Old Abe, all that they could have asked for under any other man is conceded in the platform of the nominating convention; but still they regard themselves as the victims of a bad bargain. They cannot be jolly; they do not pretend to be comfortable; they have their regrets, doubts, misgivings and apprehensions to such an extent that we are afraid they will fly off the track and bounce over to Gen. Fremont before the summer is ended.

The New York *Tribune*, for instance, instead of hailing Old Abe's nomination with a "God bless Abraham Lincoln!" as it hailed his first emancipation proclamation, comes forth with a limping gait, a downcast face, and a very doleful jeremiade. Old White Coat is apprehensive that Lincoln's budget of blunders, imbecilities and usurpations of the last three years, with all their dreadful consequences, will make so heavy a burden upon his back as to break him down. In fact, "all the hates and spleens and slights of a four years' momentous struggle are to be conjured up against him." Accordingly, Greeley was in favor of spiking this gun, and of bringing forward a new man, with a cleaner bill of health. There is much practical common sense in this view of the question, although we verily believe that the insuperable objections of Greeley to Lincoln lie in the fact that Mr. Seward and his good man Friday, Thurlow Weed, have been retained and still continue advancing in favor at the White House, "up stairs and down stairs," notwithstanding the desperate and protracted efforts for three years of the Greeley faction to supplant these lucky courtiers and cunning political tricksters, Mr. Seward and his henchman.

The poets of the *Evening Post* are as dismally doleful over the Convention triumph of Lincoln as the *Tribune*. They complain that "Mr. Lincoln is slow;" that "he suffered his best opportunities to pass;" that, "without knowledge of men, he gets about him unworthy persons, like Cameron, and clings to useless instruments, like McClellan;" that he listens to schemers and intriguers, and that when he gets into the right course he drifts into it "as the last expedient;" that "there is nothing high, generous or heroic in the tone of his administration;" that he has been a temporizer with slavery, and still continued to deal too tenderly and obsequiously with it after all the world had discovered that slavery was the cause, the purpose and the strength of the rebellion. But yet, upon a pinch, and considering that he is now associated with Andy Johnson, and has his instructions laid down in the new party platform, Old Abe may be tolerated, and may possibly become acceptable for a second term even to the dainty but fanatical radicals of the *Post*. He is a bitter pill to swallow; but if there is no help for it they will try to gulp him down. They have some interest in the public plunder, or they would drop him at once.

Now, "if such things occur in the green tree, what shall we have in the dry?" King Shoddy has these dictatorial anti-slavery radicals at last under his foot, excepting the legion that, foreseeing what was coming, struck out at the

Cleveland Convention for the independent radical, free soil, free speech, free men and Fremont movement. As the Presidential agitation, thus formally inaugurated, goes on, the abolition radicals will be absorbed in the independent Fremont organization, and the honest, original anti-slavery Lincoln men, who have become thoroughly disgusted with his artful dodges and paltry expedients on the slavery question, and with his shoddy pipelayers, may be counted by thousands and tens of thousands. These independent anti-Lincoln radicals, as between the Baltimore and Chicago conventions, will hold the balance of power; and, under this conviction, too cold and grumbling adhesion of such journals as the New York

Tribune and *Evening Post* to the fortunes of Lincoln may soon be changed into the most violent opposition as the cauldron begins to boil and bubble. Let us watch the political cauldron; for it is full of explosive combustibles.

NY HERALD JUNE 11 1864

DAILY JOURNAL.

INDIANAPOLIS, MONDAY, AUGUST 8, 1864

FOR PRESIDENT,
ABRAHAM LINCOLN,
OF ILLINOIS.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT,
ANDREW JOHNSON,
OF TENNESSEE.

Unconditional Union State Ticket.

FOR GOVERNOR,
OLIVER P. MORTON.
FOR LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR,
CONRAD BAKER, of Vanderburg.
FOR SECRETARY OF STATE,
NELSON TRUSLER, of Fayette.
FOR AUDITOR OF STATE,
THOMAS D. MCCARTY, of Wabash.
FOR TREASURER OF STATE,
JOHN I. MORRISON, of Washington.
FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL,
DELANA E. WILLIAMSON, of Putnam.
FOR SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION,
GEORGE W. HOSS, of Marion.
FOR JUDGES OF SUPREME COURT,
1st District—JAMES S. FRAZER, of Kosciusko.
2d District—JESSE T. ELLIOTT, of Henry.
3d District—CHARLES A. RAY, of Marion.
4th District—ROBERT C. GREGORY, of Tippecanoe.
FOR CLERK OF THE SUPREME COURT,
LAZARUS NOBLE, of Knox.
FOR REPORTER OF THE SUPREME COURT,
BENJAMIN HARRISON, of Marion.

Union Congressional Ticket.

3d District—RALPH HILL.
4th District—JOHN H. FARQUHAR.
5th District—GEORGE W. JULIAN.
6th District—EBENEZER DUMONT.
8th District—GODLOVE S. ORTH.
9th District—SCHUYLER COLFAX.
10th District—JOSEPH H. DEFREES.
11th District—THOMAS N. STILLWELL.

Marion County Union Ticket.

FOR SENATOR,
DR. W. CLINTON THOMPSON.
FOR REPRESENTATIVES,
HORATIO C. NEWCOMB.
JAMES M. McVEY.
FOR SHERIFF,
WILLIAM J. H. ROBINSON.
FOR TREASURER,
GEORGE F. MEYER.
FOR COUNTY COMMISSIONERS,
LORENZO VANSYCOO, First District.
SAMUEL MOORE, Third District.
FOR CORONER,
GARRISON W. ALLRED.
FOR CENTER TOWNSHIP ASSESSOR,
LEONIDAS M. PHIPPS.
FOR SURVEYOR,
OLIVER W. VORIS.

Another Rebel Advocate of Lincoln's Election.

From the Columbia South Carolinian.]

We were inclined, not many days ago, to wish success to McClellan in the approaching Presidential election. But we have changed our mind. *It has lately become evident that there are many persons in the South who are disposed to believe that if McClellan should carry the day the restoration of the Union would be not impossible.* To such a conclusion, under any circumstances, to the sacred contest in which the Confederacy is engaged, *we are so much opposed, that we must perforce deprecate any event which might lead to the formation of a party, however small, which could entertain the thought of a re-alliance with the people of the North.* We have, therefore, determined to withdraw the support of our good wishes from the Chicago nominee. *We are Lincoln men from this time forth.* The reelection of that unqualified villian will effectually put a stop to the dream of reconstruction in the hearts even of the most timid among us. Committed to accept nothing but atject submission from the South, *Lincoln will goad us all into unanimous, uncompromising, relentless, desperate opposition; and in such opposition lies the only safety of these Confederate States.* Abraham forever, therefore, say we. *If we could help him in any way, whether with open speech or surreptitious vote, we would do it with the utmost pleasure.* * * * "By hook or by crook," by foul means or fair, it is Lincoln's intention to beat McClellan; and beat McClellan he will, without the smallest doubt.—Let the reconstructionists of the South put that assurance in their pipes, and it may give them healthier dreams, under the influence of which they will perhaps come to understand that the only way of settling this difficulty is to fight through it with all their spirit and all their strength.

Enr. Re. Observer Decr 1864

"PUBLIC SPEAKING"

"The Presidential Campaign"

On Thursday, the 28th of October.

Eminent speakers will be present to address the people.

A torch-light parade will come off in the evening.

Grand Union Rally in the Fifth District

There will be a grand rally of the Union of the Fifth District at

CAMBRIDGE CITY, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 1.

Distinguished speakers from our own adjoining States will be present and address the meeting.

We have carried the enemy's center works; now for the citadel!

Hon. James Wilson

Will speak as follows:

Terre Haute, Nov. 2, 6 1/2 p. m.
Delphi, Nov. 4, 6 1/2 p. m.
Lafayette, Nov. 5, 6 1/2 p. m.
Crawfordsville, Nov. 7, 6 1/2 p. m.

Capt. T. T. Wright and Joseph Y. All

Will speak as follows:

Vernon, Jennings county, Friday Nov. 4, 1 p. m.
Columbus, Bartholomew co., Friday, Nov. 4,

Hon. Ben. Stanton, of Ohio,

Will address meetings as follows:

Winchester, Randolph county, Nov. 2, 4 p. m.
Muncie, Delaware county, Nov. 3, 1 p. m.
Anderson, Madison county, Nov. 4, 1 p. m.

Hon. Schuyler Colfax

Will address meetings as follows:

Lafayette, Friday, Nov. 4, 11 a. m.
Goshen, Saturday, Nov. 5, 1 p. m.

Hon. Madison Evans,

Presidential Elector, 3d District, will speak as follows:

Greensburg, Monday Oct 31, 6 1/2 p. m.
Shelbyville, Tuesday, Nov 1, 6 1/2 p. m.
Indianapolis, Wednesday Nov 2, 6 1/2 p. m.
Noblesville, Thursday, Nov 3, 6 1/2 p. m.
Tipton, Friday, Nov 4, 6 1/2 p. m.
Kokomo, Saturday, Nov 5, 6 1/2 p. m.

Gen. Nathan Kimball

Will address meetings as follows:

Faoli, Orange county, Nov. 1, 1 p. m.
Bloomington, Monroe county, Nov. 3, 1 p. m.
Bedford, Lawrence county, Nov. 4, 1 p. m.
Washington, Daviess county, Nov. 5, 1 p. m.

Gov. Joseph A. Wright

Will address meetings as follows:

Lagrange, Lagrange county, Nov. 2, 1 p. m.
Elkhart, Elkhart county, Nov. 3, 1 p. m.
Madison, Jefferson county, Nov. 5, 1 p. m.
Franklin, Johnson county, Nov. 6, 1 p. m.

General W. J. Elliott,

Will speak in Marion county as follows:

School House, Warren township, Nov. 3, at 7
School House, Lawrence township, Nov. 6, at 7
Greenwood, Johnson county, Nov. 4, at 2 p. m.
Southport, Johnson county, Nov. 4, at 7 p. m.

Colonel John Coburn

Will address meetings as follows:

Dover Hill, Martin county, November 1, 2 p. m.
Washington, Daviess county, Nov. 2, 6 1/2 p. m.
Vincennes, Knox county, November 3, 6 1/2 p. m.
Princeton, Gibson county, November 4, 6 1/2 p. m.
Evansville, Vanderburgh county, Nov. 5, 6 1/2 p. m.

Captain T. W. McCoy,

Formerly of the Thirty-Ninth Indiana, speak as follows:

Orleans, Orange county, Oct. 28, 2 p. m.
Livonia, Washington county, Oct. 28, 7 p. m.
Salem, Washington county, Oct. 29, 2 p. m.
Greenville, Floyd county, Oct. 31, 2 p. m.
New Albany, Floyd county, Oct. 31, 7 p. m.
Corydon, Harrison county, Nov. 2, 2 p. m.
Charlestown, Clarke county, Nov. 4, 2 p. m.
Jeffersonville, Clarke county, Nov. 5, 7 p. m.

Hon. J. J. Wright, Presidential Elector 6th District

Will speak as follows:

Terre Haute, Tuesday, Nov. 1, 6 1/2 p. m.
Rockville, Wednesday, Nov. 2, 6 1/2 p. m.

And at such places in Parke county as Saturday the 6th, as the Chairman of the committee may designate.

Hon. John M. Wilson, of New Albany

Will address meetings as follows:

Liberty, Union county, November 1, 6 1/2 p. m.
Connorsville, Layette county, Nov. 2, 6 1/2 p. m.
Brookville, Franklin county, Nov. 3, 6 1/2 p. m.
Lawrenceburg, Dearborn county, Nov. 4, 6 1/2 p. m.
Aurora, Dearborn county, Nov. 5, 1 p. m.
New Albany, Monday 7, 7 p. m.

Col. Ben. Harrison

Will speak as follows:

Columbia City, Whitley county, Nov. 1, 1 p. m.
Warsaw, Kosciusko county, Nov. 2, 1 p. m.
Lafayette, Nov. 3, 6 1/2 p. m.
Newport, Vermillion county, Nov. 4, 1 p. m.

Chaplain J. H. Lester

Will address meetings as follows:

Noblesville, Hamilton county, Nov. 2, 1 p. m.
Kokomo, Howard county, Nov. 3, 1 p. m.
Valparaiso, Porter county, Nov. 4, 1 p. m.
Logansport, Cass county, Nov. 5, 1 p. m.

The Chaplain does not expect to make "Sartory speeches" at these meetings, but thought his efforts will have a "sanitary" effect upon his hearers.

Hon. Will. Cumback

Will address meetings as follows:

Elkhart, Elkhart county, November 3, 1 p. m.
Judge H. L. Burnett will be with Major Cumback at Delphi and Lebanon.

Hon. Geo. W. Julian

Will address meetings as follows:

Goshen, Friday, October 28, at 1 p. m.

Major John H. Popp

Will address meetings as follows:

Vincennes, Knox county, Oct. 31, 6 1/2 p. m.
Washington, Davies county, Nov. 1, 6 1/2 p. m.
Dover Hill, Martin county, Nov. 2, 6 1/2 p. m.
Brownstown, Jackson county, Nov. 3, 6 1/2 p. m.
Greensburg, Decatur county, Nov. 4, 6 1/2 p. m.
Shelbyville, Shelby county, Nov. 5, 6 1/2 p. m.

The Germans are respectfully invited to attend these meetings and hear one of our countrymen on the great issues of the campaign.

Col. Edward Anderson,

Of the 12th Indiana Cavalry, will address people as follows:

Nashville, Brown county, Oct. 31, 7 p. m.
Christianburg, Brown county, Nov. 1, 1 p. m.
Bethany, Bartholomew county, Nov. 1, 7 p. m.
Columbus, Bartholomew county, Nov. 2, 7 p. m.
Vernon, Jennings county, Nov. 3, 1 p. m.
Huntington, Huntington county, Nov. 4, 7 p. m.

Major Orris Blake will be with Col. Anderson at Vernon and Madison.

Captain J. W. Ricks,

Chaplain 48th Kentucky Vols., will speak as follows:

Alton, Crawford county, Oct. 29, 7 p. m.
Evansville, Vanderburgh county, Oct. 31, 7 p. m.

Further appointments for Captain Ricks be announced from time to time.

Gen. John L. Mansfield

Will speak as follows:

Loogootee, Martin county, Oct. 31, 1 p. m.
Versailles, Ripley county, Nov. 1, 7 p. m.
Napoleon, Ripley county, Nov. 2, 7 p. m.
Greensburg, Decatur county, Nov. 3, 7 p. m.
Shelbyville, Shelby county, Nov. 4, 7 p. m.
North Madison, Jefferson county, Nov. 7, 7 p. m.

The Germans are respectfully invited to attend these meetings.

There is a new car invention, by a Bo mechanic, which will add much to public convenience and security, if it is adopted into general use. It is a two-story car—will accommodate more than double the number of passengers now transported on the same base, and so constructed that the upper story can be used for a smoking or sleeping apartment with great ease.

When freedom's best were backward borne,
Where, where was Sheridan?
One blast upon the bugle horn
Were worth a thousand men.
He came! and through that pass of fear
The battle's tide was poured;
Vanished the rebel's struggling spear—
Vanished the traitor's sword.

Indianapolis Journal
Oct 29 1864

"I have received America, a patient, suffering and wounded people anxiously asking each other, in whose ballot is wrapped the honor and safety of the nation, which ticket will admit us to the theatre of a renovated and renovated America? Does the angel of reconstruction beckon to us from the platform at Chicago or Atlanta?" "I most the exact distance between the structure and self government. While the long day is covering away in a party ebullitions and running down on new duties that we as democrats, drop happily into the flood, tied to the dark body of our organization (opposite) whose anti democratic front and anti American spirit, would only, even upon its incidents, degradation and sinners (Applause) And the democratic party haired them alive up to the heroic height of the difficulty; had they lifted the pluck of the battle or the bravery of the wayward, by assisting, without an "if" or a "but," upon the inevitability of the national unity; had they joined issue with the administration upon mere questions of administration, long before the country with different candidates, to vindicate the same national principles, making a verdict of the people upon the propriety or propriety of test cases, upon the question of a sound national policy for the war, upon a more careful supervision of the troops ratios, upon the best mode of reconstructing States and amending acts of civil disobedience, the South might not pass from a slaughterhouse to a gluehouse, so that we might bind up the broken and shattered brotherhood with discrimination as well as determination; had they planted one foot on the face of the South and the other upon the faults of the administration, and said, "Here we stand, this is our attitude, we will punch the enemy and avoid the other" — such an opposition would have been a glorious, healthy and successful. Party men and no party men did enter republicans and con cuted democrats, all could be united in a party, because safely, in so legitimate an antagonism. Do not the virtues of the war and the excesses of the war diminish us to remember the same time both parties are failing and dying upon the same battlefield, struck down by the same dark hand, and so the bright cause, both parties should adjourn their serious differences and unite upon the two best friends, preserving necessity, so that citizen and soldier, artisan and patriot, capitalist and democrat, need to be, and thoughtfully as well as passionately, we may watch from this gay bazaar of religious conflict the sweet eagle came of perfect peace. We sympathize naturally with Abraham Lincoln. We appreciate the selfless magnanimity of his traits and temperament. We are proud of his duties. We know his worthy successor. We have been wanting him to make capital out of the hands and losses of the war, in order to obtain at power which their own leaders had. An executive without experience, without the larger range of statesmanship to grasp or comprehend a calamity, suddenly called upon to thrust his village hands to catch a rising empire. I defy any man, even Napoleon himself, to pass instantaneously from an Illinois lawyer to a Washington Commander without committing grave errors. He who sanctioned arbitrary arrests? So did Washington and Lincoln. So must all rulers who would save a State in danger. (Applause.) Where one innocent person has uttered a condemnation? The South have confiscated every northern thing, from a pin to a principle. Has not the fearful word "Emancipation?" It was a truth that the storm calling all hands on deck to save the ship. When the storm subsides the sea will shape into consistent propositions the security and humanity of the public. There must always be a despotism in the country to meet the dangers of the constitution. The beautiful charter cannot defend itself, it merely a passing remark, instead of a reliable instrument. Accustomed only to the practice of peaceful provisions, we forget that it is not merely a temple in which to worship and admire, but a arsenal to load and fire. The war power of the constitution — the right to suspend habeas corpus, to raise and supply armies — is an awful recognition of the necessity for despotism in danger; not a wanted and provoked employment of force, but a soldier and potent power of power to meet sudden and perilous emergencies. (Applause.) I do not say that Mr. Lincoln has wielded it power judiciously. Yet, if we cannot endorse his errors, we may at least adjourn his accountability. If there is but one person in the crowd who will sacrifice to a free assassin, I will not stay his arm to criticize his character. We look round in vain at this election for any one else to strike such blows for the Union as Abraham Lincoln. The extremest war feeling is in power in the South, and the extremest war feeling must be in power at the North, or there is no equality in the energy and winds our respective resources. Moderation and compromise are strength in peace, they are weakness in war. The South mean every means to extract and we mean loss we will gain less in the end by trying. Mr. Lincoln is a long time, but he has the short cut to the enemy. (Applause and laughter.) We mean war to must care for him. We oppose Abraham Lincoln in 1860, because he was only the avowed enemy of what seemed a still more unfavorable party, but the flood of misdirection in 1864 has swept away the Aard of the argument, and the Liberty have made his election the only test of the citizenry. (Applause.) You cannot judge upon the Southern time so severe a Presidential punishment as the rejection of Abraham Lincoln. Whatever that guilty company have suffered, of desolation or slaughter, of wealth or broken bones or broken hearts, has fallen upon them. The streams of national retribution, poured from the chastisement of Abraham Lincoln. When you elect him you re-elect a restless chattering rod — you elect him unbroken and uncompromising march of the sovereign supremacy. Few men, if any man, could have carried the government through such a conjuncture without committing errors enough to insure the success of any opposition, candidly and patriotically marshaled. Unfortunately for us, unwisely for them, the democratic leaders have so shaped the canvases that we dare not change our rulers for fear of changing our institutions.

They judged the popular intelligence from their own degenerate standpoint. Because the people asked for reform, they thought they would hear revolution; because some were willing to accept an improvement on Abraham Lincoln, they imagined it a good time to administer a weak declaration of Vallandigham, Jeff. Davis and Benedict Arnold. The American people are a people of sentiment. They are gazing down into the profound depths of this question. As surely as the springs of the earth are gushing pure and sweet beneath the blood of battle, just so sure, under all the horrors of war, do we behold the refreshing streams of future order, stability and peace. The American people are also a business people. They have estimated the profits and losses of this war; they have dropped in one scale the tears, the graves, the debts, the taxes, the crippled limbs and ruined homes, and in the other scale they have placed the unity, the progress and the prosperity of America, and they know how such profits outweigh all her losses. They see rising from the crimson mist a firmer, securer nationality, no longer at the mercy of the sorbist or the conspirator, but as restricted, but more respected of all States and nations. We see, too, the States—always inviolate with in their just sphere—no longer, with an arrogant intrusiveness, aspiring to unsettle the grander guardianship of the nation. If Abraham Lincoln is the tyrant and imbecile they call him, the democratic party had a great card in their hands, and the people will hold them responsible for trifling with the crisis and throwing away the game. If the President is weak, better a weak man with a strong cause than an indifferent man with no cause at all. Progressing to be horrified at the usurpations of the administration, the Chicago party have left the people no alternative but to hold on to Mr. Lincoln or give up the country.

That kind of a country is it which elects the Chicago ticket? A majority of the people will then have decided that the principle of obedience to the will of the majority can no longer be maintained; that it failed by peace in 1860; that it has failed by war in 1864. Elect that ticket, and you elect a laugh at our own arrogance, imbecility and cowardice; you elect an acknowledgment that eight millions of people, armed with an impracticable sophistry are too much for twenty millions backed by the eternal truths of republican faith and national sovereignty. Oh! but McClellan's letter is sound on the war. When was the democratic machine ever stopped by a letter? Franklin Pierce's inaugural declared that the slavery question should never be revived during his administration, and in one year the land was wild with the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. James Buchanan made a similar declaration, and the blast from Kansas almost blew out the light of the republic. A scratch of L's pen does not prove a man. A campaign letter is not a candidate's character. If you want to know McClellan, you must find out his habits of thought and feeling. Who are his friends? What are his associations and surroundings? The very friends of the person would be the vices of the administration. The men who made him an hero and sent with the South. If he is grateful, as will he true to them, and so, false to the country. Elect that Chicago ticket, and the democratic party will tell you that the people had decided in favor of negotiation. You know and we know, and all the world knows, that success in negotiation depends on success in war. The South will say to your commissioners, we want to wait for our independence, you want to war to prevent it. You have been throwing shot and shell upon us for three years and a half without our crying enough. If your war is a failure ours is a success, and we demand the fruits of it—the acknowledgment of our independence. What other guarantees could you give them? They have had everything but this acknowledgment. The republican Congress of 1861 unanimously guaranteed slavery in the States, and refused to disturb it in organizing Territories. If the South wanted more at the commencement of the war in God's name what will they demand when you have pronounced that war a failure? (Appoint) McClellan could give them no more than Lincoln offered them through the first eighteen months of the war. He gave them back their negroes; he guaranteed them every right under the constitution, and what was the answer? More armies to invade us, more prates to burn our helpless non-combatants, more importunities for foreign and to co-operate against us, and if these fail, the last ditch men welcome them to the temple of Washington. General McClellan is forgetting Mr. Lincoln's part is only walking through the canopy of that gentleman's old boots. If elected, he will bring his ear to the worn out rats of 1861 and 1862, and will give the colonies back, and the cotton and machinery of aboriginal contacts. John Van Buren, in a speech at Hudson, told the people that Mr. Lincoln had perverted the objects of the war. More than a year ago, on Madison square, he declared slavery deserved its doom. When the war that prophetic politician informed the North for us to go South and restore them without slavery. Where are we to place a ticket with such Somerset supporters? Here is one of the original founders of the later anti-slavery party going about the country denouncing his two offspring. Depend upon it, a people who could drop two houses of Congress, throw away a supreme judicial bench, turn their back upon a popular vote ready to sweep them back into power—a people who have emptied their hands of all these blessings that they might lean up the foundations of American prosperity and flock their ruin in the hands of blood of the North—such a people are not to be brought back by an armistice, but by a stretcher. Never but once have the people of the North voted directly upon the slavery question, and then they gave an overwhelming majority for Southern freedom. In the contest of 1862, the fugitive Slave law and the compromise of 1860 were among the only questions before the people. Yet every Northern State but two voted for the South. That was the real 1861. A Northern vote for Southern slavery is the constitution of 1860. That large vote of President was a vote for the woolly negro race for the woolly head, and the head of a business people from the crash of cotton in the rapid of the cotton market of 1862. The election of Mr. Lincoln was a judicial verdict against the cotton plantations, and the policies of cotton under the dominion of reconstruction. The anti-slavery vote was not the increase of anti-slavery feeling, but the people driven into anti-slavery by the fact, as the only organized means of breaking down

played such a ruinous part corrupted by the slave power, France has been called a monarchy, modified by kings. Russia a despotism, tempered with benevolence; and is not the American Republic a democracy, clothed, not clothed, by a wretched minority, the great distinction between despotism and democracy is that in the first the minority is dominant and stationary, in the last it is potent, subordinate and fluctuating. The minority of today, fresh from communion with the people, may be the majority of tomorrow, banishing their sympathies to the government, and the majority, re- flecting of the elevation and the oracles of official life, go back to once and strengthen their adhesions with the people. Thus the system harmonizes, power rotates and the public is safe. Great booms are common, in the minority, and great evils often in the majority but with a little patience they inevitably change places. No man in this Union ever advocated a party or a party that was not at some time or another a power. First it is Middle's Bank, then Cotton's, then currency is main point. Mississippi cotton, Ireland and South Carolina's free trade, anti-slavery, tariff and Know Nothing each by turn swearing in their hobby; Wilson proviso, then tariff, tariff decision, and last to come—and yet to last always—enslaving trade. Poor, well educated idealism, fanaticism. Contentedly, yet passionately despised Americans. How many of them are a coward, reduced to a seventy years' school, started to its feet by the election of Davis, and started by the flood of death into the hands of possession in every street door or corner. In this section but land. Negotiation means nothing unless it meets independence out of the Union, or un- bordination in the Union. It means a foreign power bent upon the ruin of our domestic institutions, or of the whole Republic, with the vital consent of the Republican or gold-silver force to the will of the majority. Union, with the principle of unity dissolved, and first that is good, who will carry the string? Who will give us dignity and civilization again? Who, also, in the great republic? What, then, do you desire by a minority city people, because the party favored the Union, must all parties give up this national English? America has come the constitution of 1787, but the states powers not necessary to the general government, shall then when necessary and such it is not adequate to the general government be at the mercy of the caprice or the impity of any state which makes somebody at some time efforts to secure their caprice? What do we mean by state sovereignty? The States are great, far-reaching empires, from the remotest to the greatest and settlement. The Union is the aggregate of the States. The States are the power, so much of the rights, benefits and protection of the risk and the States that make the nation. A citizen is born in South Carolina, lives in Alabama, and dies in California, his traditions, tastes, and his jurisdiction, his pocket often interrupted by another, and his home buried in a cloud, but his always in the Union—first more con- siderable, overshadowing and comprehensive home, into which reach his loftiest pride of empire, his deepest dreams of progress, his most varied and interlarding pursuits in business, ambition or pleasure. Which State did Jeff. Davis risk his neck, or neckties were him, he studied treason all his life to this-skip, commenced to practice in Alabama, graduated a classic orator in Virginia, and lastly atoning into that sort of despondency which is resuming its sovereignty over him. How could the democratic party to latter so deem this a bore? I could see nothing so attractive in the present position of that party to stand by it when democracy itself is peaching in their hands. Let us distinguish between the democratic community and the democratic organization. The democratic community are sincere, patriotic and erudite. As they vote wrong, they mean right; if they fall wif-ives and demagogues, they believe their cha- racters of the principles they love and cherish. How well they know the organization know how to play on these patriotic minds. They vigorous cries of "traitor," "turn- coat," "stand by your party," "he is a black republi- can," "stand by the democracy"—these are the magic phrases upon which they presume to whip into line all who would rebel against fraud, treachery, unbrotherly and disunion. We know where to find the peace party. They are open and honest. Strong advocates for weak governments, they hanker for rules a highland and for famed cheese. (Applause and laughter.) Muddled with calumny morphoses about State sovereignty, in the winter of our fortunes, they go South for their pointers, as myriads do for their health. The larger and adrover wing have to go there and on prin- ciples but for power. They talk war for Northern votes, that they may make peace for Southern votes. Lusting for Southern support, they won't legalize Southern treas- on and rob the North of the right to a stable govern- ment, by turning this Union into the hall door of a ten- nent house, where states may go in and out and track their dirt as they please, while we attend that it shall be a heretically soiled jar to preserve the fruits of our fathers from so destructive atmosphere. I charge the democratic leaders with acting in the crisis without dis- crepancy, consistency, common sense or courage. With in- creasing through envy and disappointment the very ones they themselves helped to produce, I charge them with going to the Charleston Convention in 1856 and with their numerical minority as voters, and their numerical majority as delegates, attempting to force on that con- vention a candidate who, by his part in disturbing the Missouri compromise, could not succeed at the North, and lost out of his vote on the Lecompton bill and at the South. Refusing all compromise at that time, when compromise might have saved the party and the country, and then denouncing the republicans because they would not conciliate and compromise with violence and treason, when such concessions would have been degrading and useless, I charge the democratic leaders and presses with preferring to advocate the war, stamping the "Union at all hazards" on their banners, and then nominating peace candidates who, after being smuggled through the ballot boxes with the war cry, seat themselves down in Congress to vote the soldiers in rags and the country in ruins. I charge them with try- ing to wean the people from a just war, by artfully exaggerating its faults, underrating our resources, sneering at our victories and sending their governors and ex-governors wheeling around the country to twaddle about the miseries and expenses of this con- flict, as if all wars were not miserable and expensive.

THE PRESIDENT'S VIEW OF THE FUTURE.
Some one was recently urging upon the President
the adoption of some policy or measure which he
deemed essential to the public good. "Well" said
Mr. Lincoln, "I doubt whether we can do that
now—but wait until the 4th of March. I don't
know how things will turn, but I rather think I
shall have more influence with the next Adminis-
tration than I have with this." 4/2/67

BOSTON ADV

BLAINE LINCOLN'S FRIEND.
HOW THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE OF TODAY
AIDED THE REPUBLICAN MARTYR OF THE
PAST.

In the spring of 1877, when Mr. Blaine's frank expression of sympathy for "the heroic though unsuccessful struggle Gov. Chamberlain had (has) made in South Carolina for civil liberty and constitutional government" led to sharp criticism of his position by papers more anxious to support the Administration than to be right, the *Boston Journal* charged Mr. Blaine with being opposed to Mr. Lincoln's second nomination. This was nonsense, but it did not seem nonsense to that wide circle of people and papers who forget everything but their prejudices. Mr. Ward H. Lamon was, as every one is aware, the personal friend and the political confidant of President Lincoln. He addressed the following letter to the *Boston Journal*:

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 18, 1877.—[Editor *Boston Journal*.]—I observe in a recent issue of your paper that you class Senator Blaine as among those who were opposed to the renomination of Mr. Lincoln in 1864. The point may be interesting now only as a matter of history, but in that regard it deserves to be set right. At that time I was Marshal of this district, and I think I may say on terms of personal and very special intimacy with Mr. Lincoln.

I knew those who were his friends and those who were plotting against him, and I am very sure that there was no one among the younger members of Congress on more intimate, cordial, and confidential terms with Mr. Lincoln than Mr. Blaine, nor was there any one more implicitly trusted by Mr. Lincoln.

When the movement was made against Mr. Lincoln the winter preceeding the campaign of 1864, Mr. Blaine was the person with whom Mr. Lincoln constantly conferred about Maine, and I was present at a conference between the two when Mr. Lincoln requested Mr. Blaine to proceed to Maine and see if there was any adverse movement there. Mr. Blaine reported by telegraph to Mr. Lincoln, and he sent also to me a telegram, which was made public in the Washington papers, and I think through the Associated Press.

Mr. Lincoln became acquainted with Mr. Blaine in Illinois during his memorable campaign with Douglas in 1858. Mr. Blaine was corresponding from the scene of contest with his paper in Maine, and in one of his letters he predicted that Lincoln would be defeated for Senator by Douglas, but would beat Douglas for President in 1860. This letter was copied in several Illinois papers, and Mr. Lincoln cut it out and carried it in his small memorandum book until long after he was inaugurated as President. It naturally laid the foundation for cordial friendship between the two. Moreover, at the Chicago Convention in 1860 Mr. Blaine was almost the only New England man who was for Lincoln from the start. To his efforts was credited the division in the Maine delegation on the first ballot, and that was "the light in the East" which heralded speedy victory.

These incidents are stated from my own personal knowledge. You will be glad, I know, to publish them as matter of personal justice to Mr. Blaine, and perhaps also for their intrinsic interest as political reminiscences. Very respectfully, etc.,

WARD H. LAMON.

FRÉMONT AND MONTGOMERY BLAIR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of the first week in July last you refer, in an uncertain way, to the connection between the withdrawal of Gen. Frémont from the Presidential contest in 1864, and the resignation of Montgomery Blair from the Cabinet at the same time. As the relation between the two events does not seem to be generally known, and, indeed, is apparently not understood by the biographers of Mr. Lincoln in the *Century Magazine*, a word of explanation is perhaps demanded from any one familiar with the facts.

President Lincoln was extremely desirous for harmony among Republicans, and that Frémont's withdrawal be brought about; and to accomplish these ends Senator Zachary Chandler of Michigan left Washington early in September of 1864, and proceeded to the home of Ben Wade in Ohio. Senator Wade was soon brought to see that the withdrawal of Gen. Frémont, and harmonious action by the Republicans, was an absolute necessity, and agreed to cease his opposition to Mr. Lincoln on condition that Mr. Henry Winter Davis, his associate in the celebrated Wade-Davis manifesto, should be satisfied. Mr. Davis was next approached, and his assent to harmonious action was on condition that his personal, and, as he thought, political enemy, Montgomery Blair, should leave the Cabinet. To this latter condition Mr. Lincoln consented.

With the progress thus made Senator Chandler next visited New York, where, from his headquarters in the Astor House, he opened negotiations with the immediate friends of Gen. Frémont, for the purpose of procuring his withdrawal. In this work the Senator was efficiently aided by George Wilkes of the *Spirit of the Times*. The leaders of the Frémont movement were ultimately won over to the scheme of reconciliation, and consented that the General should withdraw and thereby unite all the strength of the party in the support of Mr. Lincoln.

At one time during the negotiations, Mr. Bryant of the *Evening Post*, feeling the necessity of harmony, and fearing that the opposition to Mr. Lincoln in certain quarters might prove disastrous to his reelection, had in type an editorial for his paper advising Mr. Lincoln's withdrawal, and a united Republican support of Gen. Frémont or some other available candidate; but, by the vigorous assurances of Senator Chandler that harmony could better be reached in the support of Mr. Lincoln, the editorial was withheld from publication.

The night after the conclusion of the arrangement with the friends of Gen. Frémont, Senator Chandler returned to Washington, reaching there in the morning, and called promptly at the White House, where he was anxiously and eagerly received by the President. He announced the result of his negotiations, and Mr. Lincoln at once fulfilled his part by addressing a note to Mr. Blair asking his resignation (which was promptly tendered).

thereby closing the dangerous breach and making certain his reelection.

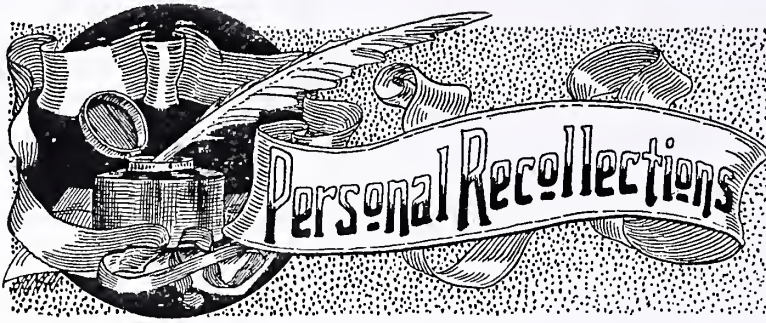
I was a guest at the Astor House during the greater part of the negotiations, and accompanied Senator Chandler to Washington and to the President's house, and make most of the above statements from personal recollection of the events as they occurred, and the others on the authority of the Senator. That these facts are not more widely known is doubtless due to Senator Chandler's well-known reticence, with all but his intimate friends, as to his own services.

DAVID H. JEROME.

SAGINAW, MICH., September 10, 1889.

— In a letter printed in another column, Mr. David H. Jerome of Saginaw, Mich., explains the connection between the retirement of Montgomery Blair from President Lincoln's Cabinet and Gen. Frémont's withdrawal as a candidate for the Presidency in 1864. That the two events were connected with each other in some way was made probable by the fact that they took place simultaneously. Together they constituted the most important political event of the year. That Mr. Lincoln's reelection was put in serious jeopardy by the "Frémont movement" is a fact well known to all persons whose memory goes back so far. Yet this movement is belittled and ridiculed by Mr. Lincoln's biographers in the *Century Magazine*, and Mr. Blair's withdrawal from the Cabinet is ascribed to different grounds—that is, to general dissatisfaction on the part of the Radicals of the period, not to the particular dissatisfaction of one person. This one person, Mr. Jerome tells us, was Henry Winter Davis, not Gen. Frémont, as we conjectured in a paragraph previously referring to the subject. The intermediary in the affair was the late Senator Chandler of Michigan.

— Mr. Jerome's statements are so precise, he having accompanied Senator Chandler in his mission, they harmonize so perfectly with all the facts otherwise known, and they explain so fully the withdrawal of Mr. Lincoln's favorite Cabinet Minister (for Mr. Blair was his favorite, so far as he had one in his official family), that we cannot doubt their substantial accuracy. We hope that Messrs. Nicolay and Hay, in the revised edition of their work, will introduce these important facts, although they may necessitate the recasting of one or two chapters. It will be helpful to the truth of history, and to a correct knowledge of Mr. Lincoln's character, to show that he was not at all squeamish as a politician. In order to carry a point which he considered important to the country, or to his own party, he would make a bargain as readily as another man, but he would not make a bargain distinctly immoral in itself. It was not immoral, under the circumstances then existing, to sacrifice Blair in order to get the Frémont ticket out of the field, but, of course, it would have provoked criticism at the time if it had been known.



Mrs John A. Logan

The Re-Election of Lincoln.

AFTER the army had entered Atlanta and all were to have a respite, General Logan came home. The plaudits of the people followed him everywhere, and I shall remember as long as I live the eagerness with which they surrounded him and plied him with questions as to his future political course. To all of them he said, "Wait till the arrival of the date when I am to speak to you." He had been advertised to speak in the grove near Carbondale, our home at that time. The grove was a most beautiful place, a natural amphitheatre shaded by grand old oak-trees, where outdoor public meetings were held. On this occasion, fully twenty thousand people assembled there all breathless to hear what General Logan had to say. A large majority of the residents of that section were inclined to support McClellan, a brother-in-law of mine among the number. He was so enthusiastic that he had declared over and over again while communication was cut off during the siege of Atlanta, that he knew that General Logan as a War-Democrat, would espouse McClellan's cause, greatly to the annoyance of General Logan's friends, who were devoted to Mr. Lincoln. One day, in the presence of a number of persons, he became so sanguine that he offered to bet a fine span of mules he owned, against \$500, that Logan would support McClellan. Seeing the annoyance and unhappiness his statement produced upon the friends, though not given to such practice, I said, "All right, I will take your bet since you are so sanguine." A half dozen hands were instantly thrust into plethoric pockets and the money was proffered to be put up to pay if I lost, and to be sure that I should have the mules if I won. I had heard nothing from General Logan, and knew as little as any of them as to his position on the question, except from intuition and an appreciation of the situation and his well known devotion to duty.

At last General Logan reached home and the day for him to speak arrived. He was much worn and looked haggard and weary from his ceaseless efforts from May till September. He was so sunburnt that he looked like an Indian. The scenes through which he had passed had deeply furrowed his brow, but the flashing light of his eyes was still there and the return to home and his family made him happy. We soon told him all that had transpired during the thirteen months since we had last seen him, especially about the political situation and the claims of both parties for his support and influence, and that I had committed him to the extent of actual betting that he would not support McClellan and

the platform upon which he was nominated. He was greatly amused and I soon saw that I had his approval, ever a requisite to my happiness. The incident had been telegraphed everywhere and much comment indulged in, so when General Logan mounted the beautifully decorated stand, from which he was to speak, he was greeted by wild cheers and yells from the vast crowd, "Now he will win the mules." He spoke for some time, telling them their duty, and of the cost of blood and treasure at which the victories of the Union had been won, and closed by a glowing appeal for Mr. Lincoln's re-election, that the war might be speedily brought to an end.

Scarcely a dry eye was to be seen among the thousands upturned to him, their idolized leader in civil as well as military campaigns. At the conclusion, they made a rush for my brother-in-law's barn, and soon returned with the mules hitched to a carriage in which they insisted upon taking General Logan and driving him around the town and to our home. For weeks he traveled drawn by the mules, canvassing the State in the interest of the Republican nominees and did as much as any other one man for the re-election of Mr. Lincoln.

Over the territory south of Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, he went from town to town in a carriage drawn by the mules.

After the lapse of so many years and through the veil of oblivion, that has obscured the circumstances then existing, it is hardly possible to appreciate of what importance to the re-election of Mr.

Lincoln was General Logan's presence in the campaign. It was the first Presidential election after the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation—our victories had been won by great sacrifice. The platform upon which General McClellan was nominated had declared the war a failure, and was in favor of an armistice, and renewal of fruitless peace negotiations, thereby betraying a want of sympathy with the policy of the government, on the part of the party nominating him. Had the government changed hands at this critical juncture no one could have answered for the consequences. Mr. Lincoln felt this most deeply. His own perpetuation in office occupied little of his thoughts, but the vigorous prosecution of the war, and the preservation of the army were of infinite importance, hence he was as anxious for the success of his party in the civil campaign, as he was for the army in the field. General McClellan's acceptance inspired the democracy with much courage.

They thought that the element known as War-Democrats in and out of the army would rally around their leader. The most prominent journalists and party leaders were untiring in their efforts. General Logan was known as a War-Democrat, and they expected he would support McClellan. They wrote him earnest letters and appealed to him the moment Atlanta had fallen, in such communications as the following—which was from one of the ablest journalists ever in Illinois.

(Copy)

Office of the Chicago Post,
93 Washington St.,
Chicago, August 31st., 1864.

DEAR GENERAL:

I enclose you a copy of the platform adopted by the Convention. I want you as a Democrat to write a letter endorsing your fellow soldier patriot and Democrat. You never failed yet to meet any demand that the Democratic party or your country ever made upon your talents or even of your life. Will you refuse both when they jointly ask your voice in the election? In God's name, dear Logan, by all your hopes for your country and yourself let not the Democracy ask your arm and be refused. You and I persistently refused to join any party, refused to accept the title of "War-Democrats" as distinguished from the old Democratic Party of our early love, and now that that party gives a rational and a National platform—will you refuse to give your voice in behalf of our own soldier patriot, Democrat and statesman—McClellan? Give us one of your characteristic letters endorsing platform, nominee and all, from the very hearts of the party, will go up a shout of thanks to you.

Yours truly, J. W. SHEAHAN.

Equally urging letters came from every quarter not only to General Logan, but other officers of Democratic antecedents at the front; and to their friends at home, urging upon them the importance of winning the Presidential campaign with "Little Mac" as the leader. Notwithstanding opinions to the contrary, Mr. Lincoln was anxious that General Logan should enter the canvass, and arranged for General Logan to have a leave of absence for that purpose after the fall of Atlanta. I regret extremely that his request to General Logan was mislaid years ago, but General Logan often spoke of it to me, and of the pleasure

it gave him to think that Mr. Lincoln had such implicit faith in his power to influence the people to stand firmly at that vital period. A few years ago in a correspondence between General Sherman and General Logan, General Sherman writes :

Headquarters Army of the United States,
Washington, D. C., Feb. 20th, 1883.
General John A. Logan,
U. S. Senate,

DEAR GENERAL :

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your good letter of February 18th, and recall well the fact that about September 20th, 1864, I received at Atlanta a telegram from some one in authority—I think Mr. Lincoln himself—to the effect that your presence in Illinois was most important to the National cause. You probably know that all my records were transferred to Lieutenant-General Sheridan at the time he succeeded me in the command of the Military Division of the Mississippi, and were burned up in the great Chicago fire. I only retained the blotters from which the official records were made up. In one of them I find my letter to General Howard, commanding Army of the Tennessee East Point—"I consent that you give General Logan a leave. I have not yet heard from General Grant, but in case of necessity we can in General Logan's absence take care of the 15th Corps. There seems a special reason why he should go home at once."

This fully confirms what you write me, and looking back from this distance of time—I doubt not you were able to give material help in the election of Mr. Lincoln, which was the greatest desideratum of that day.

With great respect,

Your friend,

W. T. SHERMAN.

General Logan further writes to General Sherman in regard to his participation in the political campaigns of 1863 and 1864.

"In 1863 when I went home to canvass in Illinois, and to help in Ohio, General Grant was fully advised and knows that although I had to make application for leave of absence, I did not do it of my own volition, but at the request of those high in authority, so, when I left on leave, after the Atlanta Campaign, to canvass for Mr. Lincoln, I did it at the special and private request of the then President. This I kept to myself and have never made it public, nor do I propose to do so now, but feel that I may in confidence say this to you, that you may see what prompted my actions in the premises. I have borne for that reason whatever I may have suffered by way of criticism, rather than turn criticism on the dead."

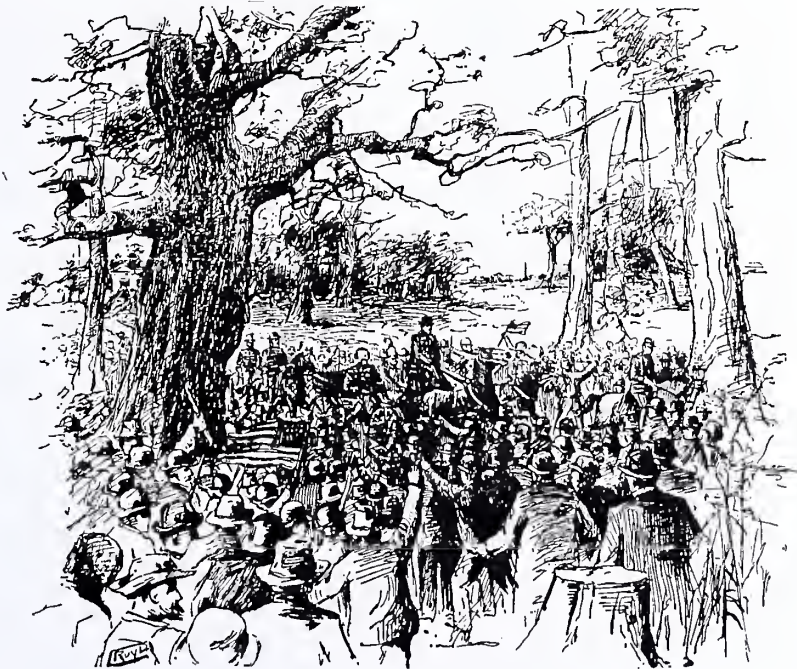
Logan's letter to General Sherman,
Written Feb. 18th, 1883.

This correspondence was published by

General Sherman after General Logan's death, hence the quotation here, otherwise I should not write so freely on this subject.

As soon as the election was over, and Mr. Lincoln was declared elected, General Logan asked for orders to return to his command. Much dissatisfaction existed throughout the Army of the Tennessee, because General Logan had not been restored to the command of that Army. General Grant was quite impatient for General Thomas to move on to Nashville, and was not quite satisfied with the delay; he therefore ordered General Logan to report to him at City Point, where General Grant then was, and after explaining to General Logan his desire, he ordered him to Louisville with verbal instructions, that if upon his arrival there Thomas was still waiting for more favorable auspices, General Logan was to advise General Grant, who was to order General Logan to supersede Thomas, and was to move at once on the enemy. General Logan proceeded to obey his orders, but in his heart hoped that Thomas might not defer his attack, and was therefore delighted to telegraph General Grant of Thomas' victory from Louisville, requesting at the same time that he be returned to the Fifteenth Army Corps, then near Savannah, Georgia. His request was granted, and he accordingly repaired to Washington, thence to New York, and by sea to Savannah, and was soon with his much loved and devoted corps with whom he was destined to continue in their march through Georgia and the Carolinas to Washington.

The political, emphasized by the military, victories seemed to bring hope and gladness to the people who faucied through it all they could see the dawn of peace. Less of the spirit of revolution and disloyalty was rife everywhere, grumblers and evil prognosticators were fewer, anxiety and solicitude were no longer in every face.



DID LINCOLN OFFER TO RETIRE

WHILE the eyes of the whole country have been turned to the famous battle of Gettysburg on the occasion of the recent great reunion of the veterans of the northern and southern armies held on that battleground early in July to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the great conflict, a remarkable incident that happened on the eve of the battle has after all these fifty years been given timely publication and become a subject of absorbing discussion among the vast number of people interested in the history of Abraham Lincoln and the war of the rebellion.

This incident is the statement that, but a few days before the battle of Gettysburg President Lincoln sent to General George B. McClellan and made a proposition by which he, the president, would withdraw from the contest for reelection and throw his support to the candidacy of McClellan, who, not only was a direct political opponent of the president but his implacable personal enemy because Lincoln had removed him from the command of the army.

This amazing proposition is put forward by Thomas Dixon, in a new story on Lincoln entitled, "The Southerner." Although it has come from the presses but a few weeks since it has already become the subject of much controversy among the thousands of students of Lincoln.

In the case of the proposition from Lincoln to McClellan there is specific evidence in the form of a letter written by McClellan which corroborates the story of the offer by Lincoln and the rejection by himself.

As this proposition seems so inconsistent with the relations of Lincoln and McClellan and so out of harmony with the historical facts as they appear on the surface it becomes of unusual historical importance.

To this letter and the evidence it offers, Mr. Dixon adds corroborative evidence gathered from many sources and develops a connected and convincing state of facts wholly in harmony with the proposition and even more in harmony with the farseeing, unselfish and patriotic character of Lincoln.

Just as Lincoln never allowed personalities or politics to enter into his administration or appointments and chose for every position the man he believed best suited to that position whether that man was personal friend or foe—after the decisive defeat of Northern army at Bull Run where General McDowell commanded, the President named General

McClellan as commander in chief of the army.

Four days after receiving this appointment this same man wrote his wife:

"They give way to me in everything, full swing and unbounded confidence. All tell me that I am held responsible for the fate of the Nation, and that all its resources shall be placed at my disposal. It is an immense task that I have on my hands, but I believe I can accomplish it. Who would have thought when we were married, that I should so soon be called upon to save my country?"

When the all-conquering army of Lee was rushing up the Cumberland valley and just outside Gettysburg, there came the time when Lincoln sought the aid of McClellan and asked him to take publicly a position that would throw the weight of his support to the administration, solidify the army and save the nation and offered to decline to be a candidate for reelection and in addition throw his support to McClellan, this is the situation that Mr. Dixon has woven into one of the most striking and effective chapters that has appeared in historical literature.

Gettysburg was the turning point of the war. A tremendous crisis faced the north on the eve of that battle, and a situation developed that nowhere seems better described than by Mr. Dixon:

"The President realized, as no other man could, the deep tragedy of the crisis. He sat by his window for hours, his face a gray mask, his sorrowful eyes turned within, the deep cut lines furrowed into his cheeks as though burned with red-hot irons.

"He was struggling desperately now to forestall the possible panic which would follow defeat.

"He had sent once more for McClellan and in painful silence, all others excluded from the executive chamber, awaited his coming.

"You are doubtless aware, general," the President began, 'that a defeat at Gettysburg might involve the fall of the capital and the dismemberment of the Union?'

"I am, sir."

"First, I wish to speak to you with perfect frankness about some ugly matters which have come to my ears—may I?"

"The compelling blue eyes flashed and the general spoke with an accent of impatience:

"Certainly."

"A number of secret societies have overspread the north and northwest, whose purpose is to end the war at once and on any terms. I have the best of reasons for believing that the men back of these orders are now in touch with the Davis government in Richmond. I am informed that a coterie of these conspirators, a sort of governing board, have gotten control of the organization of your party. I have heard ugly rumors that they are counting on you—"

"Stop!" McClellan shouted.

"The general sprang to his feet, the President rose and the two men confronted each other, in a moment of intense silence.

"The compact figure of McClellan was trembling with rage—the tall man's somber eyes holding his with steady purpose.

"I have sent for you to ask an amazing thing."

"Hence the secrecy with which I am summoned?"

"Exactly. I'm going to ask you to take my place and save the Union."

Then comes the story of the generous offer to McClellan for which substantial evidence seems available.

That this incident will provoke wide discussion and become a source of continued controversy and research among historians and students seems to be inevitable, but no matter how it shall be finally settled—if such a thing as positive settlement shall be possible—it cannot be gainsaid that Mr. Dixon in "The Southerner" presents a most convincing symposium to bear out the documentary evidence presented by the facts in the McClellan letter referred to.

Mr. Dixon's new book is one of the most loving tributes ever written to Lincoln and yet its writer is one of the most partisan Southerners that has ever won a high place in literature and is world-famous for his hatred of the proposition of according the negro equality with the white race.

After fifty years have gone and after one of the most comprehensive researches of all the facts we behold the gratifying spectacle of the man who freed the negroes and gave them their first big entry to social equality made the subject of one of the most commanding and sympathetic tributes at the hands of the one man of all the world admitted to be the most bitter and implacable and influential force against the recognition of a white man's rights to the negro.

When this somewhat specaculuar and seemly paradoxical viewpoint was presented to Mr. Dixon he said:

"I grant you that this point will naturally seem paradoxical but really it is not.

"You see the fortunes of war, if I may be pardoned the use of that expression, merely threw President Lincoln into a position where the preservation of the Union, which was his great and glorious purpose, placed him on the Northern side and so it has come to pass that practically all histories and, without doubt, our entire citizenship have always considered him as a Northerner.

"I am reasonably certain that if you

(incomplete)

1913

Papers in Sauk City Church Tell of Lincoln's Selection

Old Publications Found in Gold Metal Ball on Top
of St. Aloysius Church; Record Battles
of Civil War in 1864. *Milwaukee*

Sentinel 10-28-29

SAUK CITY, Wis., Oct. 27.—(Special)—While workmen were removing the old iron cross and gold metal ball from St. Aloysius Catholic church here, preparatory to erecting a new gold leaf cross, a number of old Wisconsin newspapers printed in 1864 were found tightly rolled in a tin tube, which was enclosed inside the gold metal ball.

The papers, which are issues of July, 1864, include the Milwaukee See-Bote, the Wisconsin State Journal, and the Wisconsin Patriot of Madison, the Baraboo Republic, the Pioneer and Wisconsin of Sauk City and a Catholic paper.

Workmen had discarded the tin tube, thinking it had been used as a support for the cross, but Joseph Derleth, a bystander, became curious at seeing a bullet hole in the tube, and upon ripping it open with his jackknife, found the old papers. The presence of the bullet hole is accounted for by old residents, who relate that years ago, the boys of the village used the gold ball as a target for their guns. The papers probably were put in the steeple in 1864, four years after the laying of the cornerstone of St. Aloysius church in 1860. Church records show that the Rev. Peter Joseph Volhsem was in charge of St. Aloysius at that time.

The issue of the Milwaukee See-Bote enclosed in the tube was printed on Wednesday, July 20, 1864, with P. U. Deuster as publisher. The paper consists of four pages printed in the German language, most of which are devoted to news of the civil war.

The Wisconsin State Journal of

Madison announced the national union nominations as follows: For president, Abraham Lincoln, and for vice president, Andrew Johnson. Presidential electors for the state at large were William W. Field of Grant, and Henry L. Blood of Outagamie.

Democratic nominations for presidential electors for the state are announced in the Milwaukee See-Bote as Theodore Rodolph of La Crosse county, and Randall Wilcox of Brown county; and in the congressional district, first, J. B. Webster, Kenosha county; second, G. T. Thorne, Jefferson county; third, J. Stephan Tripp, Sauk county; fourth, Fred P. Horn, Ozaukee county; fifth, Charles Morgan, and here the county was not mentioned; sixth, H. J. Rumsay, La Crosse county.

Dispatches from the battlefields state that the rebels had retreated from Maryland, and that the forts on Seventh, Fourteenth and Seventeenth streets in Washington had been attacked by the enemy.

An amusing account of a fourth of July celebration at Monroe is given by the Monroe, Wis., correspondent, who states that just as the principal speaker of the day had risen to begin his address, Judge Dunwiddie had shouted, "Hooray for Columbia," when the bandstand collapsed and the speakers and guests of honor met with a loss of dignity, "as they all tumbled together like pigs." In spite of the fact that twenty women fell on one man, none of the people were hurt.

The old papers are now in the possession of Mr. Derleth at Sauk City, who prizes them highly.

Lincoln Headed Ticket When Racine Voters Went to Polls in 1864; Old GOP

Seventy-four years ago, Abraham Lincoln headed Racine county's republican ticket.

Donald Nelson, 11-year-old son of Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Nelson, town of Raymond, was reminded of that historical fact yesterday when he discovered one of the original tickets in the attic of his farm home.

Abraham Lincoln was seeking his second term as president of the United States, and Andrew Johnson of Tennessee was running for vice president. Names of Racine men, running for state and county positions, were listed.

Escapes Fire Damage.

Donald found the ticket in an old volume of "Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant," which 11 years ago went safely through a fire that destroyed the Nelson homestead, built of logs by Donald's great-grandfather, to which a frame wing was added by his grandfather, N. H. Nelson.

The book was one of a few saved from the blaze, which destroyed the deeds to the farm and many other valuable papers. Donald also found a newspaper clipping of 1868 printed in Norwegian on the election of U. S. Grant as president.


Racine Candidates.

Among those from Racine running for office were Jerome I. Case, industrialist; John G. McMynn, known as Racine's greatest educator; and George C. Northrop, one-time mayor of Racine.

Mr. Case was seeking the office of state senator for the seventh senatorial district consisting of Racine county. He formerly held that office and also was mayor of Racine several years. He was the founder of the J. I. Case company.

Mr. McMynn was running for and subsequently was elected to the position of superintendent of public instruction, a position he held from 1864 to 1868. He came to Racine from Kenosha in 1853 to accept the principalship of the first high school in Racine, and his entire professional career thereafter was bound up with educational interests in Racine and Wisconsin. He served as a regent to the University of Wisconsin for many years.

Mr. Northrop was seeking election as a presidential elector for the first district.

 Tickets previously sent had the name of Frank H. Trowbridge for member of Assembly in the 3d District, but he declined to run, and the Convention re-assembled and nominated F. A. WEAGE, Esq., whose name is on this ticket.

Cross off the names of two of the Assemblymen before you Vote.

Others on Ticket.

Other men and the positions they sought were Halbert E. Paine, member of congress for the first district; John Vaughan, member of the assembly for the first district; E. C. Salisbury, member of the assembly for the second district; F. A. Weage, member of the assembly for the third district; Frank Schneider, sheriff; William J. Shepherd, register of deeds; William V. Moore, county treasurer; Charley W. Bennett, district attorney; Patrick G. Cheves, clerk of the board of supervisors; Francis L. Graham, clerk of court; Edson Burchard, county surveyor and Abner Rouse, coronor.

With war patriotism still high the ticket mentioned Mr. Paine as "the heroic colonel of the Fourth Wisconsin volunteers, who lost a leg at the storming of Port Hudson," and Mr. Graham as "one of the returned veterans of the gallant Second Wisconsin Regulars."

Primary elections had never even been discussed in those days for candidates were selected at party conventions. The ticket found yesterday by Donald Nelson indicates that the Racine county republicans had been compelled to hold two conventions. At the first meeting Frank H. Trowbridge had been nominated for candidacy as assemblyman from the Third district but had declined to accept the nomination. Therefore the convention reassembled and nominated F. A. Weage, Esq.

The republican party was almost a new organization, having been founded at a meeting in Ripon, Wis., about the year 1856. In 1860, Lincoln, running against Stephen A. Douglas was elected because of a split between the democrats of the north and south and was re-elected in 1864.

LIGHTER VEIN

By V. Y. Dallman, (Admiral)

LOG OF FLAGSHIP SMILES

Prize Smile of Legion Parade Awarded to Heroic War Nurses; Abe Lincoln Got a Big Hand!

ONE OF THE MOST significant dramas of the Legion convention—the most smileful and significant—received little or no attention Sunday. It was the meeting of fifty war nurses of Illinois who are full-fledged members of the American Legion.



"AMERICANISM is an unflinching love of country, loyalty to its institutions and ideals, eagerness to defend it against all enemies undivided allegiance to the flag, and a desire to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and posterity."

A platoon of those attractive nurses, clad modestly but most effectively in dark blue dresses with caps to match, caught my fancy more than all the rest.

They comforted the sick, restored hope where hope had fled, and actually saved lives "over there" during the first World War.

It was that thought that prompted for them the prize smile of admiration from the multitude during the parade yesterday.

Our own Mrs. E. D. Budberg presided over their meeting yesterday morning, and was elected First Vice Commander. Back of that is a pretty story. "Bud," her smiling husband, was in the service overseas. They smiled and served and—were married—"over there!"

A LEGIONNAIRE and his lady dressed as Mr. and Mrs. Abraham Lincoln, got a big hand as the parade passed. It was a significant and smileful realization of the dream of Vachel Lindsay who give to the World the poetic vision of "Lincoln walking the streets of Springfield."

A SPECIAL SALVO of smiles is due to the local Legion leaders who had to do with the formation and success of that mammoth parade yesterday—Walter H. Hagler, President of the 1941 American Legion Corporation, and Earl J. Fleischli, first assistant! They were not only efficient, but they did it with smiles. And this is funny—they put my in the parade with the Chief of Police on one side and the Coroner on the other. An undertaker followed aft.

MRS. PAUL J. MILLER, 2168 South Tenth Street, was thumbing through the old family Bible the other day when she came across an interesting bit of paper, yellow with age and redolent of American history in another perilous period in our national life.

It was the "UNION ticket" on which our own Abraham Lincoln was candidate for re-

election in 1860. It recalled to mind that Lincoln did not run as a Republican in '64, as is incorrectly assumed by many. The Republicans, you will recall, nominated Fremont in '64. That candidacy collapsed. Friends-of-the-war Democrats united with war party Republicans and formed the Union Party. Following is a reprint of that ticket, including the nominations in this district and in Sangamon County:

UNION TICKET

For President,
ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

For Vice President,
ANDREW JOHNSON.

For Governor,
RICHARD J. OGLESBY.

For Lieutenant Governor,
WILLIAM BROSS.

For Secretary of State,
SHARON TYNDALE.

For Auditor of Public Accounts,
O. H. MINER.

For State Treasurer,
JAMES H. BEVERIDGE.

For Superintendent of Public Instruction,
NEWTON BATEMAN

For Congress for the State at Large,
SAMUEL W. MOULTON

For Congress—8th District
SHELBY M. CULLOM

For Senator 11th District,
GEORGE W. MINIER

For Representatives—20th District,
A. M. BLAIR

J. A. MILLS

For State's Attorney—18th Judicial Dist.
HENRY W. KERR

SANGAMON COUNTY NOMINATIONS

For Clerk of Circuit Court,
PRESCO WRIGHT

For Sheriff,
WILLIAM V. GREENWOOD.

For Coroner,
ZEBULON BELL.

For Township Organization.
Against Township Organization.

LINCOLN LORE

Bulletin of the Lincoln National Life Foundation - - - - - Dr. Louis A. Warren, Editor
Published each week by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana

Number 1088

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

February 13, 1950

POLITICAL PUZZLE OF 1864

INTRODUCTORY

About a year ago Lincoln Lore presented a series of monographs under the general caption "Steps to the Wigwam." This was an attempt to set forth in chronological order certain events which revealed Abraham Lincoln's strategy in gaining the Republican nomination for the presidency in 1860. As a companion project, preliminaries to Lincoln's reelection or the "Political Puzzle of 1864" would seem to offer an opportunity to present, chronologically, certain movements which either contributed to, or had a tendency to thwart, Lincoln's political objective.

The disintegration of the Union and the breaking out of Civil War shortly after Lincoln's inauguration in 1861 completely disrupted all political alliances. The four parties in the field during the 1860 campaign for the presidency began to shift positions, make new pronouncements, or disappear from the scene entirely. The contest of arms, for the time being, smothered the interest in the ballot box.

The first of these political groups to be submerged by war was the Constitutional Union Party. John Bell, the presidential nominee, led his southern associates into the Confederacy and vice presidential candidate, Edward Everett, and his constituency threw their support to the Union. This was the end of the die hard remnants in the Old Line Whig party.

The already divided Democrats were more deeply embroiled by the withdrawal from the Union of the southern states and the further challenge of loyalty to the Union in the north. The Douglas wing of the party lost their dynamic leader by death within three months after the inaugural but not until he had placed himself squarely behind the administration in its effort to preserve the Union.

The Buchanan element in the Democratic party of 1860 which had nominated Buchanan's Vice President John C. Breckenridge as a standard bearer to advance the colors against Douglas, as well as Lincoln and Bell, had found its chief strength in the states which had now withdrawn from the Union.

The Republican body coming into power for the first time also had its homogeneity disturbed by the influx of loyal adherents to the Union from the disintegrating parties. It found itself rapidly developing new characteristics and its pre-election motto "no extension of slavery" was changed to "the Union must be preserved." It also changed its name from "Republican" to "Union" and in some instances "Unconditional Union."

This political chaos which became more and more a labyrinth of confused groups as time went on is best described by Senator S. C. Pomeroy in a speech delivered in the Senate of the United States as late as March 10, 1864. He said in part: "Great and radical changes are transpiring in this country. Theories of long standing are exploded and positions believed to have been well taken are abandoned—rendered obsolete by the events of a single year: From the nature of things, political parties cannot be immutable . . .

"All parties have had a hand at trying to make something out of Slavery . . . The old Whig party with its gifted and immortal leaders struck upon this rock and was rent in fragments . . . The Democratic party became ultimately the ally of the slave power and the embodiment of its interests . . . In the canvass of 1860—running two candidates, neither of whom was for freedom—the two factions struck against each other and were destroyed in the concussion . . . The mission of the Republican party was ended when its work was accomplished. That work was to stay the progress of slavery and preserve the republic domain to freedom . . .

"Partisan democracy early perished through the alliance and corruption of its leaders with slavery, partisan republicanism aiming only at the restraint of slavery, and never once asking its extinction, was shattered by the first gun aimed at Fort Sumter. *No party now exists which has ever been seen in a national convention.*"*

The speech of Pomeroy's was made by the senator in support of the "Pomeroy Circular" which he has issued as chairman of the National Executive Committee and which we will have occasion to bring before our readers in one of the monographs in the series. The chief purpose of the above excerpts, however, is to reveal how thoroughly disorganized, from the viewpoint of national politics, the various political groups were at the beginning of the Presidential election year of 1864.

The Robert Lincoln papers in the Library of Congress, now available to the editor by means of a microfilm copy, will greatly assist in placing before the reader an objective study of the many obstructions placed in the way of Lincoln's final achievement in the 1864 election. These papers are supplemented by selections from papers of the John A. Stevens, Jr., collection in the library of the New York Historical Society and other documentary data which has not been widely circulated.

The overall political picture of 1864 has little in common with the more colorful panorama of 1860. The Wigwam Convention of the Republican party might be called the highest point of interest in the entire campaign as it was a foregone conclusion that the nominee at Chicago would eventually become the President Elect. The canvass by the candidates which followed furnished but an anticlimax. Not so with the Union convention of 1864, the convention city, Baltimore, and the more obscure assembly place "Front Street Theatre" play but a minor part in the dramatic campaign which was to follow. Whereas Mr. Lincoln's election in 1860 seemed almost certain before the canvass really began, yet in the very midst of the 1864 campaign he wrote, "It seems exceedingly probable that this administration will not be reelected."

One reading the issues of Lincoln Lore dealing with "Steps to the Wigwam" may keep up with the tempo of Lincoln's political strategy by following him through the campaign of 1864 to his final triumph.

*Editor of Lincoln Lore responsible for italics.

LINCOLN LORE

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Published each week by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana

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FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

March 13, 1950

LINCOLN'S POLITICAL PROSPECTS IN JANUARY 1864

(Political Puzzle of 1864 No. 2)

The election year of 1864 recalled by one editorial writer a statement made by De Tocqueville, philosopher and prophet of democracy, in which he declared that "each epoch of the election of a President in the United States might be considered as a national crisis." This conclusion seemed especially apt considering the various movements which had as their objective the defeat of Abraham Lincoln for reelection to the presidency.

Possibly the first encouraging statements which reached Lincoln on New Year's day 1864, or shortly after, were two pieces of mail from Illinois: One from Judge Gillespie, written on December 29, 1863, at Edwardsville, Illinois, in which Lincoln was advised by the writer that "nine-tenths of the loyal men I meet with are in favor of your election. I conversed with many army men and they all stated that the sentiment of the army was overwhelmingly for you." The other statement came in the form of an editorial in *Illinois State Journal* for December 30, 1863, expressing this sentiment with reference to the President:

"Today there is no other man in the nation who the people so implicitly trust and in whose honesty and unswerving purposes they have such assuring confidence."

These sentiments however, had been confirmed by the ballots cast in the 1863 elections which had shown to a marked degree the desire of the people to support the administration. Political leaders, especially those in the ranks of the radicals of Lincoln's own party, were complimentary about his stand taken in the annual message in Congress in December 1863. Many words of commendation were received about his declaration:

"'While I remain in my present position I shall not attempt to retract or modify the emancipation proclamation, nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms of the proclamation, or by any of the Acts of Congress.' If the people should, by whatever mode or means, make it an executive duty to re-enslave such persons, another, and not I, must be their instrument to perform it."

The concluding statement of the address also gave reassurance to the large group of Union men who were in favor of carrying on the contest to a favorable conclusion:

"In stating a single condition of Peace I mean simply to say that the war will cease on the part of the government, whenever it shall have ceased on the part of those who began it."

Norman B. Judd, who had been sent as United States Minister to Prussia, wrote to Lincoln from Berlin on January 4, 1864, an important political letter. Judd had been chairman of the Illinois State Central Committee of the Republican Party and also chairman of the Illinois Delegation at the Chicago Convention in 1860 when Lincoln received the nomination for the presidency at the Wigwam. It might be expected he would have some interest in Lincoln's reelection in 1864. He said in part in his letter:

"You belong in principle to the radicals although in execution your caution leads people to call you a conservative. Your declaration in 1858 is enough for all doubters. . . . Before the next convention you will have to meet the question of whether your constitutional advisors are to continue the same through another administration. So get ready for the question, I am opposed to committals even as a general rule. I do not believe that there ever was any such committals as required you to lay aside your own judgment—if made at Chicago. . . . Congress intends to stick its nose into frauds etc. allowing them to say as soon as everything is developed 'Honest old Abe must strike the offender' and without delay make it your own act."

Probably before Judd's letter reached Lincoln the investigation of the Custom House at New York City began as the President wrote to Secretary Chase on January 11, "I am receiving letters and dispatches indicating an expectation that Mr. Barney is to leave the Custom House at New York. Have you anything on the subject?"

By the latter part of January Lincoln's mail became heavy with recommendations on what to do about the Custom House situation. Dexter A. Hawkins wrote on January 21, "No matter how pure, efficient and upright the collector might be, it has been impossible for him since the establishment of the corrupting political maxim by General Jackson: 'To the victor belongs the spoils' to avoid being surrounded by a set of dishonest place holders . . ."

In reading through the Robert Lincoln Papers at the very beginning of the attempt to discredit Barney, one regrets that Carmen and Luthin did not have access to this great mass of documentary data referring to this very important contest which would have contributed much to this phase of *Lincoln and the Patronage*.

A letter written on the last day of January by Porter L. Foy of St. Louis to Maj. Gen. F. P. Blair must have given Lincoln much satisfaction as it revealed he had one general at least who was not then politically minded. Foy said, "I have just heard that Haw put the question to Grant, with whom he is quite intimate, whether he would consent to run for the Presidency. He answered that under no circumstances would he be a candidate in opposition to Lincoln."

There were other military leaders who were not immune to the political appeal, and members of Lincoln's cabinet were also stirring about. While there did not appear on the surface any well planned opposition to Mr. Lincoln in January 1864, no sooner than the month of February dawned than the attack on the incumbent in the White House began to take a definite form.

Abraham Lincoln's prospects to succeed himself apparently looked brighter to him in January 1864 than at any other time, except those few days just preceding his election. We shall observe for the next eight months, at least, a definite trend away from Lincoln until he reaches the most despondent attitude which he ever manifested in his political history, rallying at almost the last moment to win a decisive victory.

FOREST H. SWEET
BATTLE CREEK MICHIGAN

AUTOGRAPH LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS
AMERICAN HISTORICAL MATERIAL

MAIL P. O. BOX 156
PHONE 28-7622

Dear Dr. Warren:

My memory does not serve me as it once did + I have no filing system. Have you had a Lincoln here on the 1864 election tickets? If so, may I have one — if not, please consider doing one.

I've had perhaps a dozen 1864 tickets on none of which did the word Republican appear. But Mass. did use Rep.^m here's 'stat of one. My others have been other states but which I can't now say. Mich + Ohio are 138 + 139 in current list 116 encl'd. I have (or had) ^{one Mich. with hinc. and word Republican} on back of a + Hamlin portraits, 1864 ticket. I judge hinc + Johnson 1864 ticket. Each state decided for itself in 1864 what party to run Lincoln + J. on, yes
12-6-52 FHS

December 11, 1952

Mr. Forest H. Sweet
P.O. Box 156
Battle Creek, Michigan

My dear Mr. Sweet:

Thanks very much for sending the copy of the Lincoln and Johnson ticket used for Chelsea, Massachusetts.

I am attaching to this letter a photostat of another Massachusetts ticket which does carry the word "union" without Republican attached to it so I think it is merely a matter of local interest that caused Chelsea to use the designation which appears on their ballot. Thank you very much for calling this to our attention.

I am attaching a copy of Lincoln Lore which you will observe mentions the ballot and also the power of attorney which you mentioned in your recent letter.

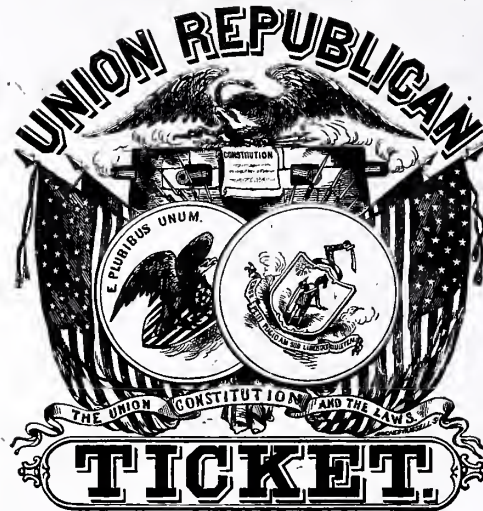
Very truly yours,

LAW:jaf
Dr. Louis A. Warren
Enc.

Director

LINCOLN AND JOHNSON

CHELSEA.



Wright & Potter, Printers, No. 4 Spring Lane, corner of Devonshire Street, Boston.

For Presidential Electors.

AT LARGE. { EDWARD EVERETT, of Boston.
WHITING GRISWOLD, of Greenfield.

DISTRICTS.

1-Richard Borden, of Fall River.	6-George L. Davis, of N. Andover.
2-Artamas Hale, of Bridgewater.	7-Stephen M. Weld, of West Roxbury
3-George Putnam, of Roxbury.	8-Levi Lincoln, of Worcester.
4-John M. S. Williams, of Cambridge.	9-William S. Clark, of Amherst.
5-John G. Whittier, of Amesbury.	10-John Wells, of Chicopee.

FOR GOVERNOR,

JOHN A. ANDREW,
Of Boston.

FOR LIEUT.-GOVERNOR,

JOEL HAYDEN,
Of Williamsburg.

For Secretary of the Commonwealth,

OLIVER WARNER, of Northampton.

For Treasurer and Receiver-General,

HENRY K. OLIVER, of Lawrence.

For Auditor,

LEVI REED, of Abington.

For Attorney-General,

CHESTER I. REED, of Taunton.

For Representative to Congress, 4th District,

SAMUEL HOOPER, of Boston.

For Councillor, District No. 1,

NEHEMIAH BOYNTON, of Chelsea.

For Senator, District No. 1,

HIRAM A. STEVENS, of Boston.

For Representatives, District No. 13,

TRACY P. CHEEVER. | EDWARD H. ROGERS.

For Register of Deeds,

JAMES RICE, of Boston.

For Commissioners of Insolvency,

JAMES BAILEY RICHARDSON,
HORACE H. COOLIDGE, } of Boston.

For County Commissioner, Middlesex County,

JOSEPH H. WAITT, of Malden.

Notes Show Lincoln As A Politician

Journal Register
2-12-54

By Jack Magarrell.

Abraham Lincoln is seen as a working politician in Lincoln letters now publicly displayed for the first time at the state historical building.

The state department of history and archives has 11 of the famous president's letters in its collection. Six of them were taken out of the building's vault this week for the anniversary of Lincoln's birthday today.

Letter to Iowan.

In a letter from Springfield, Ill., dated Sept. 1, 1859, Lincoln wrote to an Iowan:

"It would please me much to see the city, and good people of Keokuk, but for this year it is little less than an impossibility. I am constantly receiving invitations which I am impelled to decline."

Later in the same letter Lincoln wrote of two invitations to go to Ohio, "prompted by Douglas' (Lincoln's Democratic opponent for president, Stephen Douglas) going there, and I really am tempted to take a flying trip to Columbus and Cincinnati."

Inquiry on Grimes.

The politically concerned Lincoln added:

"I do hope you will have no serious trouble in Iowa. What thinks Grimes about it? I have not known him to be mistaken about an election in Iowa."

(James W. Grimes was Iowa's third elected governor, serving from 1854 to 1858.)

In April, 1860, Lincoln wrote

from Springfield to a correspondent in Iowa:

"Opinion here, as to the prospect of Douglas being nominated are quite conflicting — some think he will not be—I think his nomination possible; but that the chances are against him."

Most Valuable.

Curator Claude Cook said the most valuable document in the state's Lincoln collection is the original manuscript of Lincoln's acceptance of his second presidential term.

A joint committee was appointed by congress to inform the president officially of his re-election. An Iowa congressman, J. F. Wilson, was a member of that committee.

Lincoln handed the committee this note, which is now on display at the historical building:

"Having served four years in the depths of a great and yet unended peril, I can view this call to a second term in no wise more flatteringly to myself, than as an expression of the public judgment, that I may better finish a difficult work, on which I have labored from the first, than any one less severely schooled for the task.

"In this view, and with assured reliance on the Almighty Ruler who has so graciously sustained us thus far; and with increased gratitude to the generous people for their continued confidence, I accept the renewed trust, with its yet onerous and perplexing duties and responsibilities.

Shawl, Wood.

"Please communicate this to the two houses of congress."

Also included in the Lincoln display are a shawl worn by Mrs. Abraham Lincoln and a piece of wood from a Lincoln-split rail.

Journal Register
2-12-54

October 5, 1864—Almiren S. Cole, distiller, announced through the public prints that he had \$20,000 to bet that Abraham Lincoln would be re-elected president in November.

He would wager it in amounts of \$1,000 or more, he said, and challenged any copperhead to take him up.

Georgia Daily Record
10/10/65

Wavering Man, Unwavering Faith

by Carl Sandburg

Lincoln's privately-confessed political code may surprise you: "My policy is to have no policy." A perceptive poet and Lincoln biographer explains the paradox of a man who vacillated yet was truly great.

WHAT IS THE GIST and the main substance, briefly, of what is to be learned from the life and the personality of Abraham Lincoln? What would Lincoln do now—if he were living today? An image of Lincoln has been projected making him out to be a man who never did wrong, and never made a wrong decision, who was always right, with a mind, heart and conscience that were perfect. That was the impression I got of Lincoln when I was a boy. He sat at a desk and there the written and spoken proposals came to him and he said yes or he said no and his yes or his no was always right, never wrong.

Later I learned how mistaken was this boyish impression of mine. I learned there were all sorts of issues and questions on which neither Lincoln nor any other public man of the time could give a clear answer, a definite yes or no as to this or that solution or procedure. He became known for sudden, breathtaking decisions and actions—and he made a reputation in some quarters for indecision, for hesitation, for what was termed, and a favorite term it was, "vacillation." As he moved in his personal twilights of indecision

and inaction there was a word for it, "expediency." And yet even the word expedient is not strictly correct: there were those several occasions when he polled his cabinet on a proposed action and a majority were against him: they were opposed to what he considered an expedient action.

The VIP's in general, the very important persons in Washington, New York, Boston and in cities westward saw Lincoln as washed up politically, finished and through, destined to be a lame duck, in early 1864.

To many important men of his own party in Washington in early 1864, Lincoln looked wrong. Not a member of the United States Senate spoke out for him as good enough to succeed himself for a second term.

There were, as men go, some mighty good men in that Senate. But opinion at the national capitol agreed with the Detroit *Free Press* correspondent at Washington writing: "Not a single Senator, can be named as favorable to Lincoln's renomination for President." The Illinois Senator, Lyman Trumbull, always keen in reading political trends, wrote to a friend in February of 1864: "The feeling for Mr. Lincoln's reelection

seems to be very general, but much of it I discover is only on the surface. You would be surprised, in talking with public men we meet here, to find how few, when you come to get at their real sentiment, are for Mr. Lincoln's reelection. There is a distrust and fear that he is too undecided and inefficient. . . . You need not be surprised if a reelection sets in before the nomination, in favor of some man supposed to possess more energy."

This was the mild comment of an extraordinarily decent politician and statesman from Lincoln's home state of Illinois. What other Senators of Lincoln's own party were saying and writing was neither mild nor decent. Thus the Senate. What of the House of Representatives? There only one member took the floor to say Lincoln was worth keeping in the White House.

A Pennsylvania editor visiting Washington said to Thaddeus Stevens, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and Republican Party floor leader, "Introduce me to some member of Congress friendly to Mr. Lincoln's renomination." Stevens took the editor to the desk of Isaac N. Arnold of Chicago, saying: "Here is the only one I

(Incomplete) THINK

1958

to change its name to The Orchards to avoid being tarred with the same brush. But Sowerby may be unique: It wasn't parents who first protested but a group of students. Good for them.

jects blocking software as a matter of policy. Until the group rediscovers common sense, it should expect to see more unpleasant alternatives thrust upon it.

Politics and Pulpits

The 1864 presidential election—Abraham Lincoln vs. Gen. George McClellan—was probably the most religiously driven national election in American history. As historian Victor B. Howard notes, radical Protestant clergymen used the pulpits of their Northern churches to get out the vote for Lincoln, believing him to be the best hope against the evil of slavery. The *Christian Advocate and Journal*, an abolitionist newspaper, wrote at the time: "There

Houses of Worship

By Julia Vitullo-Martin

probably never was an election in all our history into which the religion element entered so largely, and nearly all on one side." That side was Abraham Lincoln's.

Yet the radical abolitionist Protestants had not started out as a dominant Northern force, nor had they particularly supported Lincoln at first. Congregationalist Parker Pillsbury spoke for many fellow Protestants when he said: "God has no better opinion of our President than he had of Pharaoh."

The radicals were not easy to get along with. Calling on their militant, interventionist God, they lobbied, wrote, sang and preached their message: We will fight to rid this slave-cursed land of sin. They marched to the words of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," which they fervently believed: "As He died to make men holy / Let us live to make men free."

Lincoln held himself aloof from organized religion and was uncomfortable with these semi-messianic, evangelical Protestants, whom his secretary, John Hay, had dubbed "Jacobins." Yet the Jacobins grew stronger in Lincoln's first term, as he grew weaker. For one thing, he was losing militarily—a fact that we would probably attribute to his poor generals but that his Protestant enemies (and perhaps Lincoln himself) saw as God's retribution for the nation's failure to abolish slavery.

Having vowed to regard a military success as an indication of divine will, Lincoln claimed victory at Antietam, where Union forces stopped Lee's Confederate Army on Sept. 17, 1862 (still the bloodiest day in American history). He seized on the battle to promise that he would issue a preliminary emancipation proclamation. This he did on Sept. 22, saying: "God has decided this question in favor of the slave." Desperate Union defeats followed. A despairing Lincoln declared: "It is my earnest de-

sire to know the will of Providence. And if I can learn what it is I will do it."

He issued the official Emancipation Proclamation on Jan. 1, 1863, converting the war, says Mr. Howard, into a moral crusade. No longer was it being fought merely to save the union. Rather, it was being fought, as the "Battle Hymn" had predicted, to make men free. The Sunday after the Emancipation Proclamation, radical clergymen preached antislavery sermons and urged support for the Republicans. The Democratic press and politicians responded with fury. Rep. Samuel S. Cox (D., Ohio), for example, denounced Puritanism as a reptile that had to be crushed.

In early 1864, Lincoln was far from having sewn up his renomination by the Republican Party. And indeed, the radical Christians preferred someone more ferociously antislavery, such as Gen. John C. Frémont, Lincoln's former commander in the West. The most serious challenge came from Salmon P. Chase, an ambitious and religious man who, as Lincoln's secretary of the Treasury, added "In God We Trust" to American coins in 1864.

Nonetheless, notes Mr. Howard, the "Christian masses" who regarded Lincoln as an agent of God produced a groundswell of support that was unstoppable. Moreover, the more practical Republicans feared that a disputed nomination would divide the party and lead to a Democratic victory. Ultimately the radicals abandoned their plans.

Once Lincoln secured the nomination in June, pulpit politics took off with a vengeance. There were no holds barred. Methodist conferences, Baptist associations and Congregationalist churches instructed their members outright to vote for Lincoln. What really cemented support for Lincoln



was military success, particularly the fall of Atlanta in September 1864.

The clergy proceeded to get out the vote nationally, fanning out across the country and lecturing from the pulpit on the duty of Christians to vote Republican. Meanwhile, secular Republican newspapers not only backed the clergy but exhorted them to greater efforts—urging them to visit at home any parishioner thought to be pro-Democratic.

In the event, Lincoln won with 212 electoral votes to McClellan's 21 (81 electoral votes were not cast).

He went on to win the war, of course.

He was assassinated on April 14, 1865. It was Good Friday.

Ms. Vitullo-Martin edited "Breaking Away: The Future of Cities."



Lincoln Lore

October, 1976

Bulletin of The Lincoln National Life Foundation...Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor. Published each month by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801.

Number 1664

The Troublesome Border States: Two Previously Unpublished Lincoln Documents

The Lincoln Library and Museum is proud to announce the acquisition of two previously unpublished endorsements by Abraham Lincoln. Both concern Border States, and together they suggest a policy pursued by the Lincoln administration

in the first year of the Civil War. Both letters of recommendation were written on the same day, but Lincoln acted on them at different times.



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

FIGURE 1. This strongly worded piece of 1864 campaign literature exaggerated the success of Northern armies in the war by exaggerating the amount of "Territory held by the Rebels when they fired on SUMTER." All of the gray and black areas allegedly belonged to the Confederates in 1861. The map serves well to indicate the importance of the larger Border States and documents the common assumption, North and South, that the Border States were more Southern than Northern in spirit.

The Letters

House of Rep.
Jany 9. 1861. [1862]

To the President of the U. S.

Dr Sir

Maj Wallen of the U. States Army has seen much service. He is a Southern man, by birth and has faithfully adhered to his allegiance amid the treason of his Southern associates of the army & I hope his fidelity may be rewarded, by honorable promotion. We have but *few Southern Born men* in the service,

Very resply your frined [sic]
C A Wickliff

I sincerely wish Major Wallen could be relieved from going to New-Mexico—

A. Lincoln

Jan. 20. 1862.

House of Representatives.
Washington City Jan'y 9th 1862.

To His Excellency

A. Lincoln, President U. S.

Sir,

Permit us to recommend to you for appointment, as a Major in one of the new Regiments of the Regular Army, Major Thomas E Noell of Missouri. We desire to say in reference to Major Noell, that he is a gentleman of the highest order of talent, with a liberal Education, and an unspotted character. Before the commencement of our present troubles, Major Noell, was engaged in the successful practice of the law, enjoying the confidence of the Courts, the Bar, and the whole community. Early in September, he enlisted as a private in the first Volunteer company, raised in South East Missouri, was made a first Lieutenant, and when enough Union State troops, were raised for a Battalion, he was unanimously chosen by the officers as Major, in which capacity he has served ever since. He has been in Camp with his men the whole time, acquired proficiency in the drill and by his energy skill and courage, has protected seven or eight counties, from the lawless depredations of the Secession hordes, of the Swamp region. We feel that Missouri is entitled to a respectable appointment, in the New Regiments of the Regular Army, and in Major Noell a Native born citizen of Missouri, we feel that we should be so represented, that our State would be honored, and the public service greatly promoted.

We confidently hope that our application for his appointment will be promptly granted.—

We remain Most Respectfully

Your Ob't Sev'ts
James S. Rollins
E. H. Norton
Thos. L. Price
R Wilson
Wm A Hall
Jno W Noell
J. H. Henderson

I have a personal acquaintance with Major Noel [1] and am confident that if he should receive an appointment in the army he will not only serve the country well but will distinguish himself in the service

H. R. Gamble
Gov. of Mo

Washington

Jan 27. 1862

Respectfully submitted to the War Department, with the remark that, while I know not if there be a vacant Majority, I shall be quite willing the applicant within recommended shall have it, especially as it is said Missouri has had no appointments in the new Regular Army.

A. Lincoln

Feb. 1, 1862.

[Docketing in another hand]

Major Thos E. Noell

Missouri

Major U. S. A.

Recommended by

The President

Hon F. P. Blair

" Jas. S. Rollins

Gov H. R. Gamble

1 Enclosure

Lincoln and the Border States

"I think to lose Kentucky is nearly the same as to lose the whole game," wrote President Lincoln to Orville Hickman Browning on September 22, 1861. "Kentucky gone," he continued, "we can not hold Missouri, nor, as I think, Maryland. These all against us, and the job on our hands is too large for us. We would as well consent to separation at once, including the surrender of this captiol."

As James A. Rawley has argued, these were not the sentimental musings of a son of the Border. There were hard population and geographical facts to back them up. The white population of the eleven Confederate states was 5,451,000. Kentucky's white population was 919,484; Missouri's was 1,063,489; and Maryland had 515,918 white inhabitants. The total for these three Border States alone was 2,498,891, or just under half the total population of the Confederacy. Despite a tremendous population differential between North and South (about 22 1/2 million to 5 1/2 million or to 8 3/4 million counting slaves), the South held on for four years and came close to European recognition, stalemate, and independence. With the differential at 20 million to 10 1/4 million (counting slaves), the results might have been very different. In fact, that 2:1 ratio is reminiscent of the old saw about population in America's *successful* revolution of 1776, in which a third of the population, estimated to be actively interested in the patriot cause, won independence for the whole nation from Britain.

Geographically, Kentucky was of great strategic importance. With the Ohio River as a northern boundary, the Confederacy would have had a "natural military frontier" from the Atlantic to the Missouri River. A Confederate Missouri would have made control of the Mississippi River, a key aspect of Northern strategy, much more difficult. Kentucky's sentimental influence was significant as well. Missouri had 100,000 citizens born in Kentucky; Illinois had 60,000 (including the President of the United States); Indiana had 68,000; Ohio had 15,000; and Iowa had 13,000.

Lincoln's policies towards Kentucky have been much studied and written about. He followed a policy of appointing loyal men to governmental positions in Kentucky, whether they were Republicans or not and whether they held slaves or not (most often they were not Republicans, for Kentucky's Republican party was tiny and feeble). For a brief period, he blinked at Kentucky's announced policy of neutrality which was surely as illegal as secession. He supplied arms to Union men in Kentucky secretly, and he avoided coercion of the state until the Confederates invaded it, thus placing the onus of firing the first shot in Kentucky on the Confederacy rather than the Union. This gave the North a great psychological advantage.

As Harry J. Carman and Reinhard H. Luthin point out in *Lincoln and the Patronage* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), much of the Lincoln administration's Kentucky patronage involved military commissions. They argue that he took care to fill the officerships with good Union men, but that

he tried to fill military appointments in Kentucky with men who had some connection with the state, that is, men who were Kentucky residents or who had been born in Kentucky. They could have added that he tried to cement Kentucky to the Union cause by making military appointments recommended by influential Kentuckians.

The point of C. A. Wickliffe's letter of recommendation for Major Wallen was that Lincoln must appoint Southern-born men to the United States Army, rather than that Kentucky must have only Southern-born officers operating within its borders. By 1862, then, Border State policy included efforts to tie their loyalties to the Union, not by leaving them alone, but by giving their region appointments in the United States Army.

Henry D. Wallen was not apparently a Kentuckian, however. When his son was appointed to West Point in 1862, he was listed as a Georgian. Wallen was a Regular Army captain when the war began and was serving on the Pacific coast. In the autumn of 1861, he was promoted to Major of the Seventh Infantry, but he had friends in high places and, as soon as he received his promotion, these friends were urging further promotion — to Inspector General or Brigadier General. President Lincoln wrote a memorandum as early as December 4, 1861, reminding himself that Wallen was being pushed for higher rank. On January 18, 1862, Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky, Senator Henry S. Lane of Indiana, Senator John P. Hale of Maine, and Senator James W. Nesmith of Oregon called on President Lincoln, begging him not to send Major Wallen to New Mexico. Lincoln then wrote a strongly worded recommendation to Secretary of War Stanton that he not be sent. Two days later, Lincoln endorsed Congressman Wickliffe's request on Wallen's behalf. On the same day that the Senators called on Major Wallen's behalf, Lincoln ordered "it to [be] definitely settled" that Henry D. Wallen, Jr., presumably the Major's son, be one of the ten at-large appointments to become a cadet at West Point. This request was obeyed, and young Wallen entered the United States Military Academy that year.

Major Wallen did not fare as well. He served for two years in New Mexico, fighting Indians and Confederate sympathizers in that far-off and rather inglorious sideshow to the great Civil War. Lincoln's wishes could be overridden. But the administration's "Southern strategy" was at work. Of the ten at-large appointments to West Point, four came from slave states.

Charles A. Wickliffe's influence with the administration would fade. Wickliffe (he spelled his name with an "e," but he went blind late in his life, and the approach of this condition may account for the bizarre spelling and handwriting in his letter) was born in Kentucky in 1788. He had served in Congress practically forty years before Lincoln received his recommendation for Major Wallen. He had been a Whig and served in John Tyler's Cabinet. During the Civil War, Wickliffe, a Union-loving moderate, became a leader of Unionist sentiment in Bowling Green, Kentucky. Joshua F. Speed recommended Wickliffe in May of 1861, as a safe recipient of the arms that were being distributed secretly in Kentucky to Union men. In the first year of the war, then, he was grouped with the likes of the Speed family, James Harlan, and Garrett Davis as a loyal bulwark in a shaky and doubtful state.

Loyalty to the Union "as it was" was as far as Wickliffe's loyalty extended, however. When President Lincoln began in the spring of 1862 to urge the Border States to adopt a plan of emancipation within their borders, he raised constitutional objections. By 1863, he was so alienated from the measures of the Lincoln administration that he became the nominee for Governor of Kentucky on the Peace Democratic platform,

which decried the Federal government's usurpations of Kentucky's constitutional liberties. In a rare letter to his wife, President Lincoln commented on Wickliffe's loss of the election to Unionist Democrat Thomas Bramlette: "Old Mr. Wickliffe got ugly, as you know, ran for Governor, and is terribly beaten."

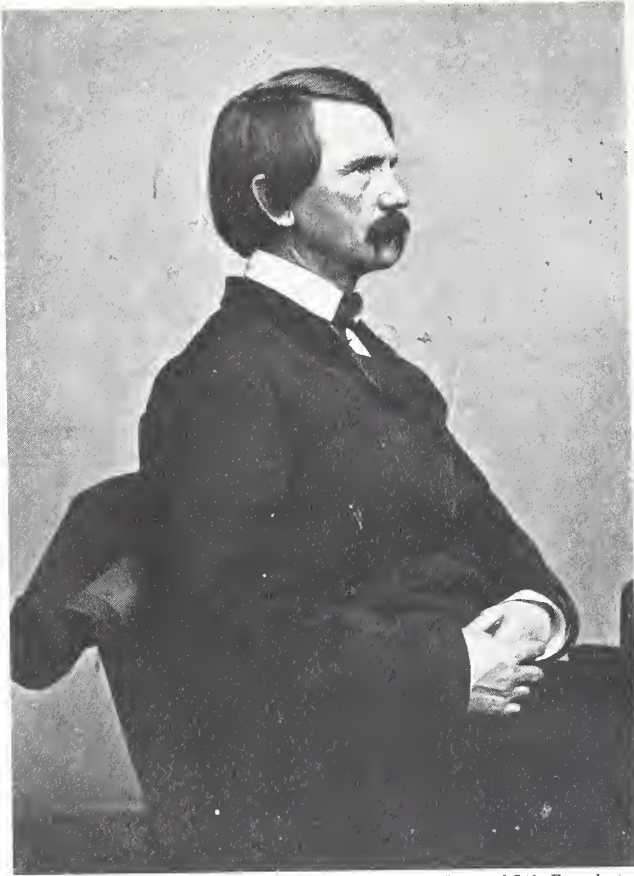
Wickliffe's career is proof of the wisdom of Lincoln's Border State policies. In the early months of the war, the President cooperated with even Democrats like Wickliffe as long as they sought to keep the Union together. Once Kentucky was safely in the Union fold, the inertia of constitutional boundaries and legalities kept her on the North's side despite the extreme unpopularity of emancipation within this slave-holding state. If a few strong-willed and independent old men like Wickliffe refused to change their principles, the state did not waver, and Wickliffe lost in a landslide. Had the Lincoln administration followed a policy of tampering with slavery from the start of the war, Kentucky, as Holman Hamilton has argued, would doubtless have seceded with Virginia and the rest of the upper South.

Two of the new appointments to the Military Academy hailed from Missouri, and the administration favored candidates for office championed by men from this Border State as well. Reinhard Luthin and Harry Carman argue that Missouri was firmly in the Union bag by August of 1861, and that Lincoln's patronage worries in that state thereafter stemmed from an enormous feud between conservative politicians of the Edward Bates, Francis P. Blair, and Hamilton R. Gamble stripe and more liberal politicians like John C. Frémont and B. Gratz Brown.

The Lincoln administration, as much by accident as anything else, was firmly the captive of the conservative faction. Edward Bates, who had been one of Lincoln's rivals for the Presidential nomination, became a Cabinet member, as did Lincoln's other major rival William H. Seward. Hamilton R. Gamble, the Governor of Missouri, was Bates's brother-in-law. Lincoln's Postmaster General was Montgomery Blair, who deserved inclusion in the first Republican President's Cabinet because of his important contributions to the founding of the party and because the Blair family in general represented the interests of Democrats who became Republicans. Francis P. Blair, Jr., was Montgomery's brother. Through his Cabinet, then, Lincoln had close ties to the one faction in Missouri. The other faction, identified for a time with the career and charisma of John C. Frémont, represented a rival Republican interest in the Presidency which Lincoln never succeeded in conciliating. Indeed, the only reason Frémont had a command in Missouri was that he had once been thick with the Blairs, and they persuaded Lincoln to appoint him. Later, Missouri proved to be too small for the ambitions of both Francis Blair and Frémont, and the two became bitter factional rivals.

Major Thomas E. Noell's name came before Lincoln with impeccable factional credentials. Hamilton R. Gamble and Francis Blair were leaders of the faction, as was Congressman James S. Rollins. More important than Noell's factional identification at this juncture in the war, at least from President Lincoln's point of view as opposed to that of the politicians within Missouri, was the simple fact that he came well recommended by a Border State delegation. This seems to have been persuasive, for on April 1, 1862, Thomas E. Noell became a captain in the Nineteenth Infantry, United States Army.

Thomas E. Noell was being recommended for promotion by his own father, John Noell, who was a member of the Missouri delegation in the House of Representatives. John Noell died in Washington in 1863, before his term ended. In 1864, his



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

FIGURE 2. Francis P. Blair, Jr.

son resigned his commission and ran successfully for his father's former seat. Thomas Noell won reelection and, like his father, died in office.

Doubtless the word was out in Washington that a way to gain an appointment from the Lincoln administration was to represent a slave-state interest that could perhaps be won to the Union side. Lincoln noted in the case of Noell that the appointment was of special merit if it were true that there were no Missouri men in the new units of the Regular Army. Major Wallen, on the other hand, had influential friends all over the Union, but it is interesting to note that his friends followed up their pleas for saving his career from the obscurity of the New Mexico theater of war by having Kentuckian Charles Wickliffe urge the Major's cause on the ground that there were too few Southern-born men in the Army.

The story of the Border States always serves to impress us with the speed with which political events in the Civil War moved. Although it is fashionable to think that a policy of emancipation was arrived at at a snail's pace, the view from the Border suggest quite the opposite. One must keep in mind that slavery was an institution over two centuries old in a country that was fifteen years short of one century old. The United States was no nearer abolishing slavery on April 13, 1861, than it had been one, two, or three decades before. In fact, the chances of doing away with the peculiar institution without war were far slimmer in 1861 than in the first fifty years after the American Revolution. As Lincoln figured out and said repeatedly, as far as slavery was concerned there had been no progress, only decline, from the conditions of the early days of the republic. Recent studies of the economic health of the slave economy indicate that it was thriving, and its racial purpose never changed.

To look at the Civil War through a Kentucky prism is to see

events fairly hurtling past. If the Kentucky legislature had been sitting on April 14, when Sumter was fired upon, she might well have left the Union with the other four Southern states which did so for that reason. In May, Lincoln was smuggling guns into the state to any Democrat who seemed to want to keep Kentucky out of the Confederacy. The President ignored the state's illegal neutrality. By the Fourth of July, Lincoln attacked neutrality as showing "no fidelity to the Constitution," but he sent no Union troops to Kentucky. Even after Unionists won the August elections for a new state legislature, Lincoln kept only Kentucky soldiers in Kentucky. When John C. Frémont issued an emancipation order in Missouri on August 30, some Kentucky soldiers threw down their guns and went home. Within a week, the Confederates stupidly invaded Kentucky. The legislature then abandoned neutrality and took active measures to support the North.

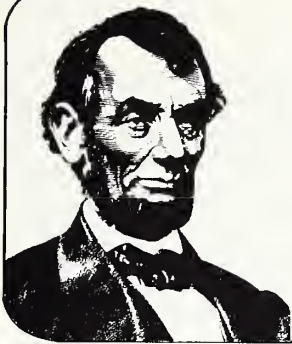
In just a year from this time, Lincoln would identify his administration with a policy of emancipation. And he wasted very little time in broaching the subject to the slave-holding Border. In six months Lincoln was advising the Border States to get rid of slavery; he sugared the pill by offering compensation. Kentucky turned the offer down, and it was Kentucky Congressmen especially, among them Charles Wickliffe, who raised objections to the plan in a meeting of Border State Congressmen with Lincoln on March 10, 1862.

The price Lincoln paid was unpopularity. McClellan took Kentucky in a landslide in 1864, 61,000 to 26,000, and, as Holman Hamilton has said, in spirit Kentucky then joined the Confederacy. For practical military reasons, however, Lincoln's cautious early policy of giving the reluctant Border disproportionate attention paid off, and Missouri and Kentucky helped more than they hindered the effort to keep the nation from falling apart.



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

FIGURE 3. John C. Frémont



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LOUIS A. WARREN LINCOLN LIBRARY AND MUSEUM IS RECIPIENT OF BARONDESS/LINCOLN AWARD

The Civil War Round Table of New York has this month honored the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum with the Barondess/Lincoln Award. The award is given each year for "contribution to the greater appreciation of the life and works of Abraham Lincoln." Mark E. Neely, Jr., accepted the award at the meeting of the Civil War Round Table on February 14th at the 7th Regiment Armory in Manhattan.

The Round Table noted that 1978 marked fifty years of service as a "respository of Lincoln . . . artifacts and a . . . library on the subject" for the Lincoln Library and Museum. It noted also the institution's acting "as a clearing-house of information on Lincoln." *Lincoln Lore*, first issued in 1929, is now sent "monthly free of charge to six thousand schools and universities, historical societies, Lincoln scholars and collectors" and "is the accepted authority in the matter of bibliography of printed materials on Lincoln." The Round Table mentioned as well the R. Gerald McMurtry Lecture, which "brings to Fort Wayne an outstanding Lincoln scholar to speak on some new aspect of research in the field."

The Barondess/Lincoln Award was established in 1962 in memory of Dr. Benjamin Barondess of New York, a charter member of the Round Table and the author of several works on Lincoln. Barondess was a member of the New York Bar, a graduate of Columbia College and the New York University

Law School. Lincoln students know him as the author of *Three Lincoln Masterpieces: Cooper Institute Speech, Gettysburg Address, Second Inaugural* (Charleston, West Virginia: Education Foundation of West Virginia, Inc., 1954). The Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum contains three other pamphlets by Barondess: *The Gettysburg Address: Revealing Facts About One of the "Supreme Masterpieces" of the English Language* (Reprinted by permission from the *Autograph Collectors' Journal*, Spring Issue, 1952, Vol. IV, No. III), *Lincoln's Cooper Institute Speech* ([New York]: The Civil War Round Table of New York, Inc., 1953), and *The Adventure of the Missing Briefs* ([New York]: The Civil War Round Table of New York, Inc., 1955).

The first recipient of the Barondess/Lincoln Award was author Neil Harris. Last year Stephen B. Oates gained the award for *With Malice Toward None: The Life of Abraham Lincoln*. The Civil War Round Table honored Louis A. Warren with the Barondess/Lincoln Award in 1965, and now it honors the institution which bears his name. The staff of the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum is most grateful to the New York group for noticing our "contribution to the greater appreciation of the life and works of Abraham Lincoln." Lincoln students everywhere appreciate the efforts of this Civil War Round Table to stimulate work in the Lincoln field.

"PIG IRON" AND THE GENESIS OF A LINCOLN CAMPAIGN MEDAL

Although museums and collectors have hotly pursued the medals and buttons associated with Abraham Lincoln's campaigns for the Presidency, they have generally had more success in acquiring the medals than in describing the specific circumstances of their production and use. Hardly any form of information is more difficult to come by than that which links these solid artifacts with the men who produced them and the politicians who encouraged their use. The historians who are most familiar with the letters and political literature of the period have shown little interest in the material political culture of Lincoln's day. Collectors and museum curators spend their daily lives amidst the remains of that political culture, but they tend to have little time to cultivate the broad familiarity with written sources necessary to explain the uses of the artifacts. This article is a very modest attempt to bridge that gap in the case of one Lincoln campaign medal.

In the Abraham Lincoln Papers at the Library of Congress, there is a letter written by William Darrah Kelley of Philadelphia to Norman Buel Judd which gives a brief glimpse of the circumstances which produced a campaign medal. Kelley, who ran successfully for Congress the year of Lincoln's first election to the Presidency, was a Democrat turned Republican and a free trader become protectionist. In Kelley's long career in Congress after this first successful run, he became so strongly identified with tariff protection for Pennsylvania's iron and steel industries that he was nicknamed "Pig Iron." Judd, another Democrat turned Republican, was a member of the Republican National Committee, Chairman of Illinois's State Central Committee, and, most important, a close political advisor of Abraham Lincoln in the



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 1. Campaign medal, AL 1860-12.

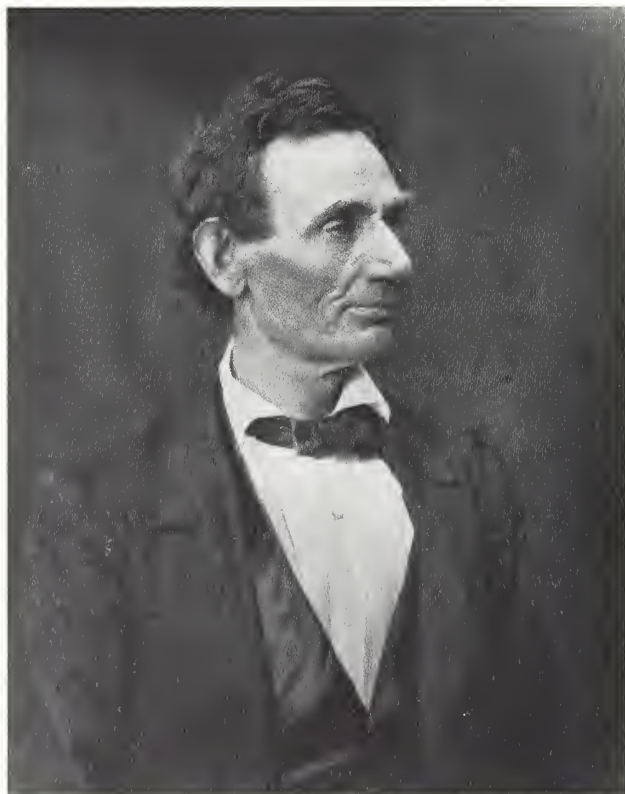
1860 campaign.

On June 1, 1860, Kelley wrote Judd from Philadelphia, telling him, "A townsman of mine, a clever artist in his line — is very anxious to get out a medal for campaign use with a faithful likeness of Mr. Lincoln. To do this requires a perfect profile and for this he has applied to me." Pictures of the surprise nominee of the Republican party were evidently scarce in the East. "Can you send me one — A reliable *profile* — or if you have none can you induce Mr. Lincoln as a favor to me, or for the good of the cause to have one photographed," Kelley asked. "I hereby transfer my commission to you not doubting that it will be faithfully executed at your earliest convenience." Kelley added, "I will cheerfully honor a draft for the cost & trouble as I believe it will result in a creditable work." Kelley's letter then concluded with a report on the exceedingly good political prospects for the Republican cause in Pennsylvania: "... the good old Keystone state is no longer in the category of doubtful things."

On June 6th the diligent Judd wrote "Friend Lincoln," enclosing Kelley's letter and reminding the Presidential nominee that Kelley "was with the party that visited you to notify you of your nomination." Judd explained that he sent Kelley's letter "not . . . so much on account of the picture proposition as that you may know his views of Penn., and that your over zealous friends may let well enough alone." However, Judd did comment on the "picture proposition": "The picture although troublesome to you, when requested by such a person as Judge Kelley ought to be attended to — Every little [bit] helps, and I am coming to believe, that likenesses broad cast, are excellent means of electioneering."

For his part, Lincoln not only read the political news from Pennsylvania but also attended, apparently, to the "picture proposition." The envelope from Judd bears these words in Lincoln's hand: "Judge Kelly [sic]. Profile." In another hand is written, "Answered."

Lincoln had received the nomination on May 18th, and there was no abundance of photographs of the candidate from which to choose three weeks later, when Kelley's letter arrived. However, the candidate had posed for a series of photographs in Springfield three days before Judd's letter was written. The four photographs taken by Alexander Hesler on June 3, 1860, included one which was nearly in profile. Per-



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

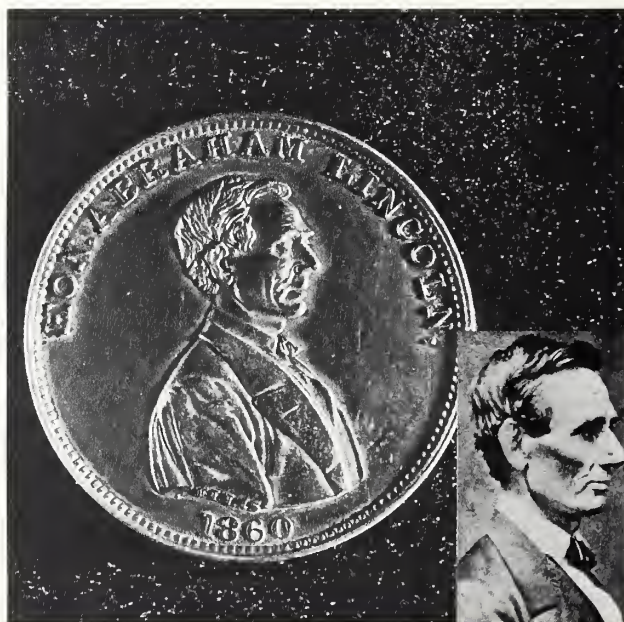
FIGURE 2. Hesler's near-profile photograph of Lincoln.



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 3. Campaign medal, AL 1860-33.

haps this is the one Lincoln sent Kelley for his medal-making constituent (see FIGURE 2). There are two campaign medals listed in J. Doyle DeWitt's *Century of Campaign Buttons, 1789-1889* (Hartford: privately published, 1959) which were struck in Philadelphia and seem to have been based on the Hesler photograph. One (No. AL 1860-12 in DeWitt's book) was engraved by William H. Key and, says DeWitt, "undoubtedly was based upon the photograph of Lincoln made by Hesler in Springfield on June 3, 1860." The reverse of this medal bears the inscription: "THE PEOPLES/ CHOICE/ 1860/ LINCOLN & HAMLIN/ FREEDOM/ &/ PROTECTION." The other (No. AL 1860-33), engraved by Robert Lovett, Jr., of Philadelphia, misspells Lincoln's name as "ABRAM" on the obverse, and bears the inscriptions on the reverse: "FREEDOM & PROTECTION, LINCOLN & HAMLIN" and "THE/ MAN THAT/ CAN SPLIT RAILS/ OR GUIDE THE/ SHIP OF/ STATE."



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 4. This campaign medal, struck in Waterbury, Connecticut, may have been based on this profile photograph (inset).



*From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum*

FIGURE 5. Reverse of campaign medal, AL 1860-12.



*From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum*

FIGURE 6. Reverse of campaign medal, AL 1860-33.



*Both photographs from the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum*

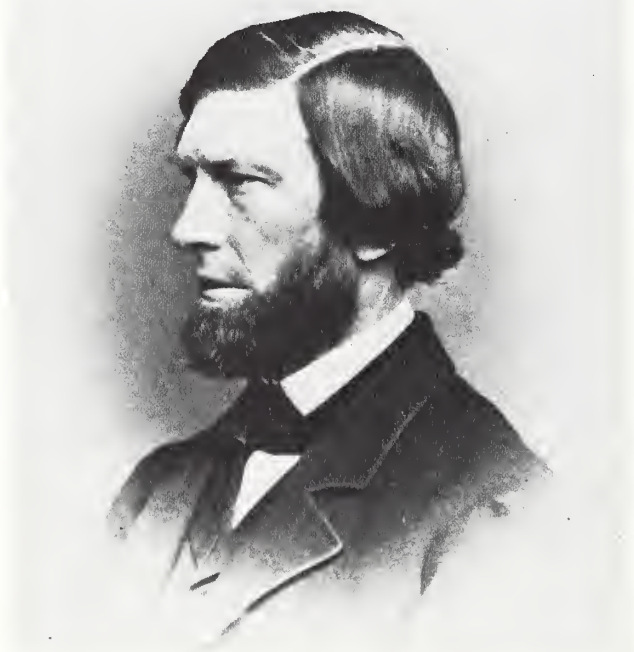
FIGURES 7-8. Another possible candidate for the medal struck by William D. Kelley's constituent is the one shown above (obverse and reverse). J. Doyle DeWitt identifies the medal as AL 1860-51. It was struck by Robert Lovett of Philadelphia. Like other Lincoln campaign items from tariff-mad Pennsylvania, this one urged "PROTECTION TO AMERICAN INDUSTRY." Here the tariff appeal was combined with the slogan "FREE/HOMES/FOR/FREE MEN." The latter slogan combined the idea of homestead legislation (free homes) with the heart of the Republican idea, free soil (free men). Winning Pennsylvania was a key to Republican success in 1860, and Lincoln's "sound" record on the tariff was essential. When Lincoln selected his cabinet after the victory, rewarding Pennsylvania was crucial. One of the arguments used by supporters of Simon Cameron's bid for a cabinet position was that it would reassure Pennsylvania's high-tariff men, especially if Cameron were made Secretary of the Treasury. Unfortunately for Cameron, he had a reputation for corruption and dishonesty, and the idea of associating Cameron with the Treasury was more than many Republicans could stomach. Some found the idea of any association of Cameron with "Honest Abe" repulsive, but in the end Cameron became Secretary of War.

One other Lincoln campaign medal (identified by DeWitt as AL 1860-47) called for "PROTECTION TO/HONEST/INDUSTRY." Its place of manufacture is unknown, but all other pro-tariff campaign medals identified by DeWitt came from Pennsylvania. Issues changed in 1864, and only one medal mentioned the tariff. It was, of course, made in Philadelphia.

Until more is known about Kelley's constituent, the precise identification of the medal will remain in doubt. However, some modest conclusions can be drawn at this point. Both of the medals described above reveal Pennsylvania's obsession with the tariff, a preoccupation which Abraham Lincoln understood very well. In January of 1861, when President-elect Lincoln decided to offer the position as Secretary of the Treasury to Ohio's Salmon P. Chase rather than Pennsylvania's Simon Cameron, he explained to a political confidante, "But then comes the danger that the protectionists of Pennsylvania will be dissatisfied." Only the medals from Pennsylvania (and one the source of which is unknown) stress "Protection." Others deal with Union or free soil. It seems fitting that "Pig Iron" Kelley should have been midwife to the birth of such campaign materials.

It is instructive, too, to note the primitive state of campaign financing. Kelley was willing to pay out of his own pocket for the production of a photograph to aid the Philadelphia medal-maker. In fact, the nature of campaigning itself was not yet a matter of predictable public-relations techniques. Norman Judd served in the Illinois Senate from 1844 to 1860 and was a political wire-puller of long standing. Lincoln knew Judd's abilities very well, and, when he was having difficulty with excluding Cameron from his cabinet, he had "a great notion to post Judd fully in this matter, and get him to visit Washington, and in his quiet way, try to adjust it satisfactorily." As Chairman of Illinois's Republican State Central Committee and a member of the Republican National Committee from 1856 to 1861, Judd was a politician's politician, a man who surely knew how to run a campaign. Yet even Judd instructed Lincoln to see to the "picture proposition" largely as a favor to Kelley and was just "coming to believe, that likenesses broad cast, are excellent means of electioneering."

Historians are a little like Judd in that they are just coming to realize the significance of a broad range of campaign materials. Medals do have some political content; in 1860, Pennsylvania's campaign medals mentioned protection — others did not. Still, it is the general lack of content in such materials that is revealing. Judd, Lincoln, and Kelley attended to the medal matter in the crush of other important political business. Though historians stress issues in their studies of politicians, the politicians often preferred not to. Issues are divisive. Medals and pictures are not. Politicians ran "hurrah" campaigns, not debates on political science, and the great abundance of "hurrah" campaign ephemera is the best proof of the politicians' preferences.



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 9. William Darrah Kelley.

LINCOLN AUTOGRAPHED DEBATES: A COPY PRESENTED BUT NOT SIGNED

Editor's Note: I am indebted to Grant Talbot Dean of the Chicago Historical Society for informing me of the existence of the book discussed in this article.

The Chicago Historical Society owns an interesting copy of the *Political Debates Between Hon. Abraham Lincoln and Hon. Stephen A. Douglas in the Celebrated Campaign of 1858, in Illinois* which bears this inscription: "James C. Conkling/Presented by/A Lincoln/April 7 1860." Harry E. Pratt did not list this copy in "Lincoln Autographed Debates," *Manuscripts*, VI (Summer, 1954).

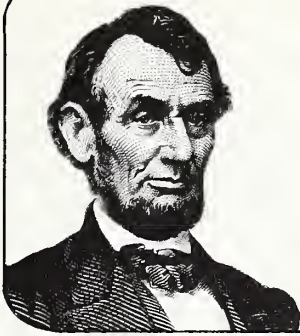
James Cook Conkling (1816-1899) was a likely recipient of a free copy of Lincoln's book. Born in New York City, Conkling graduated from Princeton and settled in Springfield in 1838. Politics, profession, and matrimony soon forged a Lincoln-Conkling friendship. Conkling was, like Lincoln, a lawyer and a Whig in politics. In 1841, he married Mercy Ann Levering, the "Dearest Merce" of Mary Todd (Lincoln's) earliest known letters. In fact, Conkling's letters provide one of the more important sources for the Todd-Lincoln courtship, the gay social life of early Springfield, and the early appearance of Abraham Lincoln.

Conkling was a politician of some local prominence, being elected mayor of Springfield in 1844 and to the Illinois House of Representatives in 1851. Like Lincoln, Conkling became a Republican. He campaigned for Lincoln in Pennsylvania in 1860. When Lincoln became President, Conkling occasionally visited Washington as agent to handle Federal accounts for the State of Illinois. In 1862, he used his friendship with the President as an avenue to press for the selection of Mackinaw City rather than Michilimackinaw as a spot to be fortified for the protection of the Great Lakes. Conkling cited a number of arguments about the relative military advantages of the two sites, but he also admitted that he had invested some \$18,000 in Mackinaw City over the previous five years.

Students of Lincoln's Presidency know Conkling principally for his invitation to Lincoln to speak at a mass rally in Illinois on September 3, 1863. Conkling hoped that Lincoln would make a personal appearance, but from the start Lincoln leaned towards sending a letter to be read at the rally. Conkling, whom Lincoln thought "one of the best public readers" he knew, read the famous letter at the rally. Lincoln had cautioned him: "Read it very slowly." The letter defended the administration's policies of emancipation and arming Negroes as the best ways militarily to save the Union. Conkling was an ardent antislavery man, and he complimented the letter and hoped for the day when military success would leave "no question as to the condition and rights of American citizens of African descent."

Conkling wanted to visit Europe, and, in the summer of 1864, he pressed Lincoln for a European appointment. The President gave Conkling an introduction to Secretary of State William H. Seward, but nothing came of it. Conkling nevertheless continued to work hard for Lincoln's reelection and spurned the third-party movements which lured some other antislavery liberals away from Lincoln's camp. When Lincoln won reelection, Conkling pressed again for a European appointment, but the result was the same as in the previous summer.

There is no doubt of Lincoln's close personal relationship with Conkling. He referred to him at various times during the Civil War as "entirely trustworthy," as "my personal friend of long standing," as "a good man," and as "a particular friend & fellow townsman." Yet the Conkling presentation copy of the *Debates* is not autographed by Lincoln. Harry Pratt missed the Conkling copy, but he did note two similar unsigned presentation copies. John H. Littlefield, once a student in the Lincoln-Herndon law office, wrote in his copy: "J.H. Littlefield From A. Lincoln, April 25, 1860." And Charles J. Sellon, an Illinois newspaper editor, wrote in his: "Chas. J. Sellon Presented by Hon. A. Lincoln." The inscription in the Chicago Historical Society copy is in Conkling's hand. It is written in ink; Lincoln wrote in ink in only one of the nineteen known copies he signed. It is dated; Lincoln dated only one of the copies he signed. The early April date would be approximately the time Lincoln first received his one hundred copies of the book from the publisher, and Lincoln was in Springfield on April 7th. Like Littlefield and Sellon, James Conkling failed to have Lincoln sign his copy of this famous book.



Lincoln Lore

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BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE Lincoln in Graphic Art, 1860-1865

The Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum is sponsoring an exhibit of popular prints of Abraham Lincoln in the Cannon Office Building of the House of Representatives in February and March of 1981. The exhibit, nestled in the arches of the handsome rotunda of the Cannon Building, is open to the public and free of charge. The customary traffic in this building consists of people who are themselves politicians, who work for politicians, or who call on politicians, and the exhibit naturally focuses on Lincoln's political image.

The heyday of public relations and propaganda arrived only with the First World War, and America's nineteenth-century Presidents had little awareness of the powers of conscious image-making. The Lincoln administration, which at its height had a White House staff of three secretaries, employed none of the elaborate apparatus of modern image-conscious politicians. Imagery was the province of, among others, the popular printmakers of the day.

Abraham Lincoln and the graphic arts in America grew up together. Neither took much notice of the other until 1860, when Lincoln became the Republican nominee for President. Suddenly the Republican party needed pictures of him for campaign posters, and the voters wanted to know what he looked like. Lincoln's looks were an issue well before most people had seen a picture of him, for it was widely rumored that he was ugly. Lincoln was genuinely modest about his looks, and he took notice of the graphic arts only when they were forced upon his attention. He rarely commented on the various portraits of him produced after he became a national political figure. He confessed that he knew "nothing" of such matters, that he had an "unpracticed eye," and that he was, in truth, "a very indifferent judge" of the artistic merits of efforts to capture his likeness.

Lincoln's Presidential nomination in 1860 surprised nearly everyone. The first mass-produced likeness of him, an engraving by F. H. Brown of Chicago, appeared only at the nominating convention itself. Lincoln had been so seldom photographed before 1860 that

the printmaker had to copy his likeness from a photograph taken in Chicago in 1857, a photograph noted for the disorderly appearance of Lincoln's hair. Printmakers needed more photographs of the candidate and more gentlemanly poses. Numerous sittings for photographers and for painters with commissions from Republican patrons demanding that they make the candidate "good looking whether the original would justify it or not" soon solved the problem of models from which the printmakers could work, and the great process of Presidential image-making began.

Popular prints relied on sentimentalism, sensationalism, and satire. Sensational pictures of fires and other disasters had helped make lithography a growth industry in the 1840s, and, during Lincoln's Presidency, the printmakers would capitalize on battle scenes to continue this form of appeal. Sentimentalism, however, was the dominant motif of popular prints, just as it dominated popular literature. Politics lent

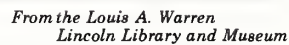
themselves more to satire than sentiment, and Presidential campaigns always boosted the cartoon industry. In the end, nevertheless, sentimentalism triumphed — a victory so complete that the political cartoons of Lincoln still appear a little strange to us.

They appear strange, too, because the nature of the art of political cartooning was quite different in Lincoln's era from that of today. For one thing, cartoons were a part of the print business. Most were poster cartoons issued as separate prints by firms like Currier & Ives, more famous today for nostalgic landscapes and sentimental genre pictures. These firms put business ahead of politics and produced both pro- and anti-Lincoln cartoons. Sometimes the same artist produced cartoons on both sides of a political question. Louis Maurer (1832-1932) drew both "Honest Abe Taking Them on the Half Shell," predicting that Lincoln would gobble up the Democratic politicians grown fat from their long years in office, and "The Rail Candidate," one of the better anti-Lincoln cartoons of the campaign. Another difference from modern political art is that cartoonists did not go in for



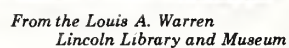
From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 1. How the people first saw Lincoln.



caricature, which dominates modern political cartoons. Instead of exaggerating physical features which characterized a politician's face, they copied the faces slavishly from available photographs. Maurer's "Honest Abe" is adventuresome in attempting to depict Lincoln's smile. Lincoln never smiled in his photographs, and to this day no one knows what his teeth looked like. Humor usually stemmed only from the improbable situations in which the cartoonists placed the politicians or from balloons of language, often filled with obscure puns.

In 1860 the cartoonists, their pens ready to attack William H. Seward, the front-runner for the Republican nomination, were as astonished as most American voters were at Lincoln's nomination. Like the voters, they knew almost nothing about him. They seized with alacrity on the few available scraps of colorful information about Lincoln. Republicans touted Lincoln as the "Railsplitter," and a rail became essential in Lincoln cartoons. He was often depicted in a workingman's blouse rather than the customary coat and tie of most candidates, but, no matter the attire, he almost always had a rail handy. He might use his rail to fend off candidates trying to break into the White House; he might exercise on it; or he might use it to drive the wildcat of sectional discord back into the Republican bag.



A black and white illustration showing a man in a cap and coat running towards the left, carrying a long stick. He is being followed by three men in suits. One man is running, another is crouching, and a third is jumping over a low wall or fence. The scene is set outdoors with some foliage in the background.

STORMING THE CASTLE



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

The standard anti-Lincoln cartoon in 1860 contained four elements: Lincoln, a rail, Horace Greeley, and a black man. Greeley was a cartoonist's delight, almost a self-caricature. The moon-faced outspoken reformer wore a long white duster, its pockets crammed with pamphlets and papers. Over the years, Greeley had flirted with a myriad of reforms, some of them quite radical, and he came to symbolize the crank reformer on the enthusiastic lunatic fringe of the Republican party. His presence in the cartoons was a reminder of the allegedly dangerous and radical impulses in the Republican party.

One need not look long at political cartoons in Lincoln's era to see evidence of the pervasive racism of nineteenth-century American popular opinion. The presence of black men, women, girls, boys, and babies in Lincoln cartoons was meant



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 5. Adalbert Volck was among the best.

to stand as a warning of the racial results of Republican anti-slavery policies.

Lincoln was so little known that cartoonists assumed he was a nonentity who would dance to the tune of more powerful figures in the Republican party. Often, he was not even the central figure in their busy cartoons, and Lincoln's failure to take over the central spot in these cartoons is an unconscious sign of the artists' inability to take him seriously. What seemed serious was the threat that the reform impulse represented by Greeley and the Negro might at last seize control of the country on the coattails of this unobjectionable but innocuous candidate.

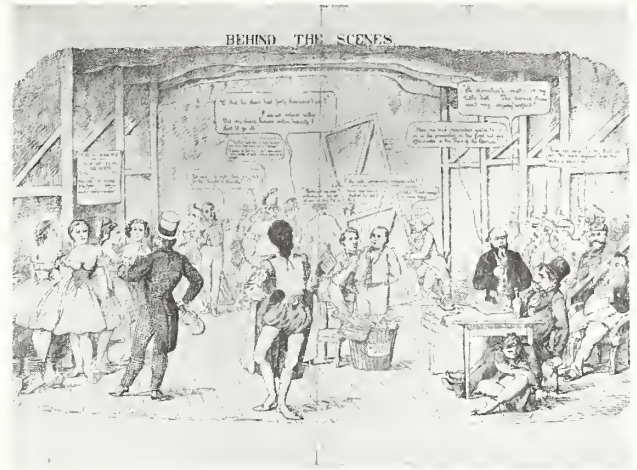
The greatest satirical talent in American graphic art in Lincoln's day was located in the camp of the opposition. Adalbert Johann Volck (1828-1912) was a Baltimore dentist who had come to the United States from Bavaria. He probably received some training in the graphic arts in Europe, as did many other American artists in Lincoln's day, but Baltimore shaped his political opinions. Maryland, though it did not secede, was a slave state, and opposition to the Republican party in the state was virulent. Volck was decidedly pro-Southern and loathed the Lincoln administration.

Volck's considerable technical skills as an etcher were united with a sharp satirical eye. In one of the most brilliantly conceived and skillfully executed prints of the period, Volck pictured Lincoln as a hopelessly idealistic Don Quixote, carrying a John Brown pike instead of a lance, accompanied by that sordid reminder of Northern materialism, Benjamin



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 6. Literary allusions were common.



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 7. Benjamin Butler is Falstaff.

F. Butler, as Sancho Panza, complete with stolen Southern cutlery in his belt. Volck's cartoons also played on fevered fears of doom for the white race if the North were victorious in the Civil War.

Volck's work is sometimes carelessly thought of as Confederate cartoons, the only vigorous Southern counterpart of Thomas Nast's pro-Republican cartoons in the North. In truth, Nast was very young and not particularly active during the Civil War, and Volck's satirical etchings were really Copperhead cartoons, the product of anti-Lincoln sentiment in the North. Volck was apparently never arrested for producing the prints nor for his more treasonous activities like smuggling spies and medicines to the Confederacy. His art stands as a visual embodiment of the political atmosphere which led a group of Maryland men (and one D. C. pharmacist's assistant) eventually to murder President Lincoln. John Wilkes Booth, a Maryland native, led the group.

By 1864 printmakers knew more about Lincoln, and their work during his bid for reelection seized on some entirely new themes. The rail was gone, and no single symbol so dominated cartoons as it had done four years earlier. Its nearest competitor was Lincoln's reputation for telling jokes. This quality endears him to twentieth-century Americans, but it was less clearly a political asset in Lincoln's earnest Victorian era. Cartoonists frequently attacked him as a mere frontier joker — too small for the job of President.

Two of the better cartoons of the 1864 campaign capitalized on Lincoln's reputation as a lover of Shakespeare's works. J. H. Howard depicted Lincoln's Democratic rival for the Presidency, George B. McClellan, as Hamlet, holding the



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 8. A crowded but effective cartoon.



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 9. A cartoon for the ugly mood of 1864.

skull of Lincoln as Yorick and asking, "Where be your gibes now?" Thus the artist combined his knowledge of Lincoln's reputation for joking and for reading Shakespeare's works. Another cartoonist moved away from merely associating Lincoln with black people to turning Lincoln into a black man himself. Shakespeare provided the artful mechanism for doing so: the cartoonist depicted Lincoln as Othello. This print lacked the simplicity of conception of Howard's cartoon, but the crowded stage contained other figures who symbolized controversial acts of the Lincoln administration. Secretary of State Seward, seated at Lincoln's left, had once been in charge of arrests of disloyal persons in the North. Rumor had it that Seward had once boasted to the English ambassador that he could ring a little bell and cause the arrest of anyone in the United States.

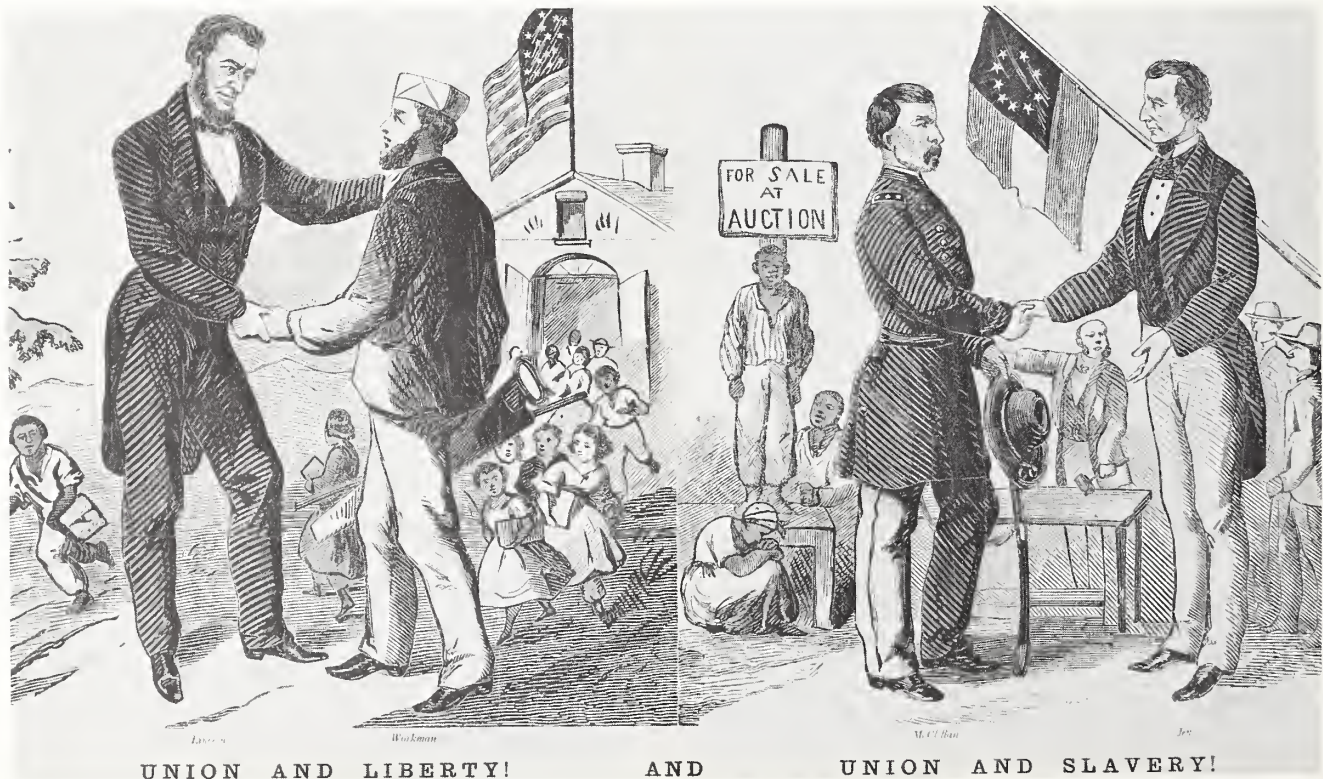
The story about Seward was doubtless untrue, but its fame was revealing of the anxiety aroused by the suspension of some traditional American liberties in the North during the Civil War. The Democrats were bereft of their traditional

appeals to economic discontent by high wartime employment. Lincoln frustrated some of their appeals to racism by claiming that the Emancipation Proclamation was essential to provide the man power necessary to win the war. The issue of civil liberties was about the only one left in the Democratic arsenal. "The Grave of the Union" added to the traditional figures of Lincoln, Greeley, and a black baby (under Henry Ward Beecher's arm), portraits of those "War Democrats" who served the Lincoln administration, most notably the driver of the hearse, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton.

Lincoln's reputation for humor did not prevent the creation of sinister images of the President. The story that Lincoln had asked his friend Ward Hill Lamon to sing a vulgar and humorous tune on a visit to the Antietam battlefield led to one of the most darkly effective anti-Lincoln cartoons of the Civil War. In truth, Lincoln asked for the tune to cheer him up after the gloomy visit. He was miles from the battlefield when the event occurred. All the bodies on the field had been buried long ago. The spurious charge was so effective, however, that Lincoln prepared a long letter for the press explaining the event. In the end, he decided not to issue it, and the story was not effectively scotched until 1895 when Lamon published a facsimile of Lincoln's letter in his *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln, 1847-1865*.

The Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation brought rapid (and, unfortunately, temporary) changes in the customary depiction of black people in popular art. "Union and Liberty! And Union and Slavery!" contained the common message of Republican cartoons that McClellan's election was tantamount to a victory for Jefferson Davis and the Confederacy. It also contained in the background an unusual depiction of racial harmony, as white and black children emerged from a school. Such an image was unthinkable four years earlier.

This issue of *Lincoln Lore* has focused principally on the satirical vein in popular prints of Lincoln. There was a sentimental counterattack, and the next issue will focus on those prints in the exhibit which made Lincoln's image what it is today. In the meantime, if you happen to be in the Washington area, please drop by the Cannon Office Building to view "BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE: Lincoln in Graphic Art, 1860-1865."



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 10. This appeal to the white workingman contains an unusual vision of racial harmony.

THE FIFTH ANNUAL
GOVERNOR'S LECTURE IN THE HUMANITIES

Calvin T. Smith

**LINCOLN
AND
THE PERPETUAL CAMPAIGN**

by

RICHARD NORTON SMITH

Director

Gerald R. Ford Museum and Library
Grand Rapids, Michigan

Wednesday
June 24, 1998

Executive Mansion
Springfield, Illinois

sponsored by

GOVERNOR JIM EDGAR
and the
THE ILLINOIS HUMANITIES COUNCIL

Governor Jim Edgar and the Illinois Humanities Council initiated this lecture in 1994 to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the Illinois Humanities Council. These lectures underscore the importance of the relationship between the humanities and public life.

Richard Norton Smith is an award-winning biographer and historian who is currently the director of the Gerald R. Ford Museum and Library. His most recent book, *The Colonel: The Life and Legend of Robert R. McCormick*, published by Houghton Mifflin, is the first biography of the maverick editor of *The Chicago Tribune* to make use of McCormick's vast personal archive. The book was the recipient of the prestigious Goldsmith Prize awarded by Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

Smith's first major book, *Thomas E. Dewey and His Times*, was a finalist for the 1983 Pulitzer Prize in Biography. He has also written *An Uncommon Man: The Triumph of Herbert Hoover* (1984), *The Harvard Century: The Making of a University to a Nation* (to be reissued in paperback later this year) and *Patriarch: George Washington and the New American Nation* (1993).

A native of Leominster, Massachusetts, Smith graduated magna cum laude from Harvard University in 1975 with a degree in government. He has also served as the director of the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library and Museum. Smith is a regular contributor to popular and scholarly publications on the American presidency and various historical topics.

"History is too important to leave to historians."

—Richard Norton Smith

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Vice Chairman, Illinois Humanities Council

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LECTURE

Richard Norton Smith
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(Photo and text courtesy
Lincoln National Life
Foundation, Ft. Wayne,
Indiana.)

VOTE FOR LINCOLN AND LIBERTY, AGAINST McCLELLAN AND SLAVERY.

MR. SEWARD'S AUBURN SPEECH.

The first stump-speech of the canvass has been made by the first minister of LINCOLN. It sounds the key-note of the administration's appeal for re-election, and a myriad weaker voices will pipe the echo to its shallow sophistries and bald falsehoods. These are plain words to be used to the Secretary of State; and they are plainly deserved.

All that is meant for argument in this speech is saturated with intense official egotism, and narrowed down to the personality of ABRAHAM LINCOLN. It is the old fetch, scooped when first uttered, of a "disputed succession" to the presidency, to be fought out for the personal credit of the man, not for the vindication of the office. This disputed succession is not the ground of the quarrel—it is but its mode; it is not the principle of the rebellion, but only its occasion; and to give it prominence as a reason for action is either a fantastic subtlety, familiar enough to the secretary's mental habit, or a shift to evade discussion of those real differences which burst into the flame of war on LINCOLN's accession, and which are to this day farther from settlement than ever, and more than ever envenomed, through his conduct in office. "The war is at its crisis," says the secretary. "It is clear that we are fighting to make ABRAHAM LINCOLN President of the whole United States, under the election of 1860, to continue until the 4th of March, 1865." "Can we wisely or safely vote out the identical person whom with force and arms we are fighting into the presidency?" "By such a proceeding we shall have agreed with the enemy and have given him the victory." These propositions are revolutionary. We are fighting for no identical person. If LINCOLN dies or resigns, if the whole administration and cabinet retire the war and its grounds are changed in no iota. We are fighting to maintain the Con-

stitution, of which the presidency is but an incident, and its incumbent might give place to another a dozen times without affecting the continuance or the aim of the war. We were prepared to fight, had the outbreak then come, to sustain BUCHANAN's official power. Shall we bear to be told that twelve years spent in subjugating the South shall be spent to settle LINCOLN as a twelve years' dictator? Yet this is what the argument means, if it means anything.

Once mounted on this steed of air, the secretary prances with loose rein. "One of two things must follow that fatal error. Either a contest between your newly elected com-promise President and the same usurper, in which the usurper must prevail, or else a combination between them, through which the usurper or his successor, subverting your Constitution and substituting his own, will become President, King, or Emperor of the United States." Is it possible that the secretary can read these words in print without a blush at their silliness? Were the Auburn school-boys all in bed that no shout derided such trivial fallacies? Why should the newly elected President be less invested with all the majesty of constitutional power, less bound by oath and interest to maintain it, less the champion of an undivided Union, than the man he displaces? "Entirely irrespective of platform and candidate," the secretary declares that he here talks. Then it is the sheer personality of ABRAHAM LINCOLN that the people are fighting to sustain; his full enjoyment of more than the four years of his elected term for which their blood and treasure are to be spent; obedience to the man, not the President; the person, not the office, which they decreed in placing him there. How plain a tale shall put this down. For four years a President was duly chosen; for four years the nation must yield, willingly or through force, obedience to his official power. Whatever becomes of the incumbent during or after those four years, the duty to obey remains, and will be enforced by his successor as well as by himself. It is the constitutional chief, not the personal man, that is insulted by resistance. It is the constitutional chief, whoever he may be, and how often soever regularly changed, that will put that resistance down. He may be personally hateful or personally dear to loyal citizens or to rebels, without its varying their rights or duties, or his. The Constitution, of which he is the creature, binds and sways all alike, and is no respecter of persons.

The falsehoods of this disreputable harangue are bolder even than its fallacies. "The rebels and the northern Democrats," says the speaker, "are compassing the rejection of the constitutional President of the United States." The rebels are fighting against President, presidency, and Constitution alike. The northern Democrats accept their constitutional President, obey his lawful authority, volunteer and pay taxes under his rule, so long as he remains in power. On the 4th of March next ABRAHAM LINCOLN ceases to be the constitutional President, and becomes a plain citizen, like the rest of us. Till then he is obeyed. Where is the pretense that he is not? After that, unless re-elected, "none so poor to do him reverence." Where is the pretense of his title to it? No rhetorical flourish can cover up or excuse this deliberate maligning by the secretary of millions of his countrymen.

But the orator proceeds; "We have a nomination and a platform which were made by treaty formally contracted between the Democratic traitors at Richmond and the Democratic opposition at Chicago, signed, sealed, attested and delivered in the presence of the London Times, and already ratified at Richmond." A charge so grave made by one obscure individual against another, would be listened to only on the clearest proofs. Here, the first cabinet officer of the administration, on a public occasion, solemnly arraigns a great party containing nearly, if not more than, half his fellow-citizens, of the crime of selling their country, and denounces their declared effort to save the Union as an "abominable and detestable compact." The first resolution of the platform "abominable and detestable?" Where is the evidence of this black treason charged on half a nation? It is raked from the chance scribbling of a hireling to the London press—the hints of a mendacious mercenary whose word the secretary would reject as proof of any private transaction. It is sustained by a telegram speaking the personal views of a hare-brained rebel, whom no one has ever thought it worth while to listen to or believe. The accusation is monstrous, the basis of proof contemptible—what can be said of the accuser?

For shame, Mr. SEWARD! Has all your subtlety, your crooked intrigue, your juggling dexterity, come to this?—to defy the omens of your downfall with such dark signs against the mighty popular power gathering to destroy the errors your guilty ambition has fostered? Have you all these years sown the wind, and do you believe you can escape by flinging insulting lies in the face of the raging whirlwind? You have written yourself into fame abroad only at last to talk yourself into infamy at home.

THE Washington National Intelligencer
calls attention to the fact that when Mr.
Lincoln was a candidate for the Presiden-
cy in 1860, he announced that "*if elected,
he would serve but for a single term.*"

ENTHUSIASTIC POPULAR DEMONSTRATION.—
SPEECH OF MR. GALBRAITH.—On Tuesday evening, after the announcement of the very heavy majorities in the several wards of the city, a large crowd of citizens collected in the public square, and in response to loud and repeated calls, Mr. Galbraith appeared on the balcony of Brown's Hotel. He was received with the most enthusiastic and prolonged cheering and made a brief speech. He said, in substance, that he was deeply grateful to his townsmen and neighbors for the very marked and flattering testimony they had given him, through the ballot box, of their approval of the Constitutional platform on which he was nominated. The contest was against desperate odds, and he had, at no time, entertained any expectation of being able to overcome, in the very short time allotted for the campaign, and against a regular party nomination, the 6,000 party-majority of the district. He did not expect it now, but it was sufficient for him that he had

been so strongly endorsed at home, and he firmly believed that with a few days time, in which to discuss the issues involved, before the people, the party lines and party majorities which alone secured his opponents success would have melted away in the light of truth and principle.

The election of Mr. Lowry would undoubtedly be claimed as an expression of the people in favor of turning this war from its proper and constitutional end, into a mere sectional struggle, a fanatical crusade against the institution of slavery. He, Mr. G., was utterly opposed to this doctrine. He believed the only hope of suppressing the rebellion and ending the war, was in adhering to the Constitution. If the Administration should, in an evil hour, be forced by the clamors of the extremists of the North into an abandonment of the true ground heretofore, and now, occupied by the Government, he believed that hour would sound the death knell of the Republic. He was in favor of upholding the Government as handed down to us by our Fathers. Let the President take the position urged upon him by the abolitionists, and it would require no oracle to foretell the calamitous results that would inevitably follow. The growing Union sentiment every where manifesting itself, in the seceded States, would be instantly extinguished. The loyal slave States, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri, would be literally forced into rebellion. The South would be at once united unto death, in self defence, the North would as suddenly be divided into hostile factions, and a war, the blood, and carnage, and woes, and curses of which would have no parallel in the history of the downfall of Nations, would inevitably follow.

It required but a mere reference to facts to prove that the ultra and unconstitutional dogma on which the Republican nominee for Senate stands, is not the doctrine of the President, nor of his Cabinet, nor of the Republican Congress. The Chicago platform, expressly repudiated interference with slavery in the States where it already existed. Mr. Lincoln, in his inaugural message, said that he had no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists; that he believed he had no lawful right to do so, and that he had no inclination to do so, and he, the President, has at all times since, and very recently in his Fremont letter, repeated and reiterated, more distinctly and emphatically, the same sound, statesmanlike positions. And still further, at the late session of Congress and since the rebellion, a resolution was passed with great unanimity, expressly assuring the country that the war was not waged for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of the States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality and rights of the States unimpaired, and that as soon as those objects are accomplished the war ought to cease.

This, then, is the object of the war, as held by the Republican President, the Republican Cabinet and the Republican Congress, and yet we have here a candidate regularly nominated by a Republican convention, supported by the party Press (with one honorable exception, the *Meadville Republican*) and elected by the sheer pressure of party drill and discipline, whose openly avowed sentiments are, in the strongest possible degree, opposed to the principles enunciated by the Administration and by Congress!

He (Mr. G.) had not hesitated to oppose the doctrines of his opponent, as being extreme and to the last degree dangerous and impracticable. He believed that the adoption of such a policy by the Administration would make the war a hopeless and interminable sectional struggle, which would only end in the utter overthrow of the Government. All good men desire that this war shall be so conducted that the North can show a united front. On the ground taken by the President, this is possible and probable. There need be no division if all will be content with the principles of Congress and the President, as over and over enunciated; and if fatal party strife should come in the North, it will not be hard to single out the men who have brought it upon the country.

He believed the only safety was in adhering to the Constitution. When that chart is abandoned, the ship of state will be tossed upon the waves of anarchy and misrule, without rudder or compass. There is as much danger from those in the North who assail the President on account of his adherence to principle, and who denounce the Constitution as "a league with hell and a covenant with the devil," as from the more open enemies of the Government, whose attacks are less insidious, and therefore more easily met.

As for himself, as was well known, he had from the first advocated a vigorous prosecution of the war against the rebellion. He believed it to be wholly without cause or excuse, and that there should be no compromise or relaxation of the efforts of the Government until the stars and stripes again floated over every portion of the country. It is a question of life and death with the Nation, and there ought to be but one sentiment among the people—a determination to preserve the Union at all hazards, and at any cost. He firmly believed that this could only be done by adhering to the Constitution, and that any other course would end in the most calamitous results.

Mr. G. concluded by saying that he cheerfully accepted his defeat, confident that he was right, and content to bide his time.

He was warmly cheered throughout his address.

Mr. DeCamp was then called for, and made a brief and eloquent speech. He was frequently applauded during his remarks.

Greeley on Re-election

Earlier in the year Horace Greeley had called the attention of the readers of his New York Tribune to the fact that whereas during the first 40 years of our nation's history under the Constitution it had been the general rule to elect the President for a second term, during the last 30 years no President had been re-elected. Greeley suggested that Lincoln be thanked, and that some one else be elected.

That Lincoln was not adverse to being re-elected is gathered from a letter he wrote to Elihu B. Washburne in which he stated: "A second term would be a great honor and a great labor, which together perhaps I would not decline if tendered." But he did next to nothing to promote his own candidacy. The Republican Convention, which changed its name to the Union Convention, was called to order on June 7. The following day the initial ballot revealed 484 votes for Lincoln, and 22 for Grant, the latter cast by the delegates from Missouri, who promptly made it unanimous for Lincoln. Andrew Johnson of Tennessee was named for the Vice Presidency over Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, who had filled the position during Lincoln's first term. The next day the President was officially notified of his nomination.

The Democrats met in Chicago August 29 and nominated Gen. George B. McClellan as candidate for President, with George H. Pendleton of Ohio as his running mate. The platform plank which stated that the war was a failure was repudiated by McClellan in his letter of acceptance. Lincoln had been much disappointed with this general (whose home, incidentally, was in Orange, N. J.), and McClellan's attitude toward the President was most unbecoming. Irrked by the general's procrastination in waging battle and taking advantage of apparent opportunities, Lincoln is alleged to have said that

On October 13 Lincoln wrote a long
note to Governor Lincoln in which he
conspicuously let Indiana cause the governor
to ~~move on the~~ ^{issue of the} state elections.
However ~~in his letter he~~ ^{in his letter he} amplified the instructions
which he sent to Governor, from Illinois
that those who were allowed to go turn
and vote for the state election, as
follows:

Someone wrote to Lincoln from New York
stating that the opposition's policy for the campaign
will be "to abstain from voting." Lincoln saw she
later and added the full note. "more likely to
abstain from stopping once they get at it, until
they shall have voted several times each."

E. B. Washburn wrote a presidential letter to
Congress in which he ~~says~~ "quotes me of the candidates
as saying: "Today (Oct 17) we would lose the state
by 10,000 majority without the soldier's vote. Steps
must be taken instantly to have every soldier home
possible."

" In my letter ~~said to~~ born by Mrs Mitchell
to General Sherman, I said that my soldiers
he would spare for October need not remain for
November. I therefore cannot press the General on
this point."

